

TWO SECTIONS—SECTION I

The Nation

[REG. U. S. PATENT OFF.]

Vol. CIX, No. 2823

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION

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Ten Cents the Copy

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Published weekly at 20 Vesey St., New York. Entered as second-class matter December 18, 1897, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

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Vol. CIX

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 9, 1919

No. 2823

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE NATION PRESS, INC.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD	HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY
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SUBSCRIPTION RATES—Four dollars per annum, postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, \$4.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, \$5.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: NATION, New York. Chicago Office: Room 1348, People's Gas Bldg. British Agents for Subscriptions and Advertising: Headley Bros., Pub., Ltd., 72 Oxford St., London.

President Wilson expressed himself as insistent that reservations should not be made, saying that they would endanger the treaty. For the Senate to amend the document, the President told the Senators, would be embarrassing to the United States after it had assumed a leading part in the treaty negotiations. Through the reopening of negotiations, which, the President said, would be forced if reservations were made, complications were likely to develop. Germany, encouraged by whatever changes had been effected by the Senate, would seize upon it as an opening for further demands.

THUS, all the press dispatches last week after Mr. Wilson's interview with four Republican Senators. Could there be any more futile or any weaker reasoning? Take the German bogie. How could Germany make any demands if the Senate's reservations relate merely to the League of Nations covenant? And what if she did? Would not her demands simply be ignored—as Mr. Wilson himself ignored the pleas of the British peace delegates at Paris to mitigate the severity of the terms to the enemy? Again, the President's plea that the treaty must be accepted as a perfect work of art lest our prestige suffer is the old familiar argument of the politician. Expediency and compromise ruled Mr. Wilson at Paris, and he would have them rule at Washington now, so that he may have his way. The idea is not to accept suggestions to better the treaty and improve the outlook for permanent peace, but just to avoid "complications."

MR. BERNARD BARUCH has been throwing some interesting light upon the peace treaty in his testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. He admitted that Germany could never pay the \$24,000,000,000 which has been assessed and that nobody abroad expected her to, as it was beyond all possibility. He did not add that the reason for the fixing of this particular sum was to enable Clemenceau and Lloyd George to delude their respective nations, but that is the fact. Having promised their people untold sums from the Germans for reconstruction, these two premiers, finding that Germany could not pay what was asked, set an impossible figure in order to save their own faces, knowing full well that it was not collectible. To obscure the situation further, the Reparations Commission was devised, which Mr. Baruch freely admitted was a "super-government imposed upon Germany," with practically complete control of that nation's life. Just what enormous powers that Reparations Commission has—it is to dominate Germany until 1951—Senator Moses brought out again in his speech of July 22. No one can read that speech—which, by the way, is the only one of which we are aware, as yet made in the Senate, which has been devoted to the treaty itself, aside from the covenant of the League of Nations—without seeing that the treaty is the most monstrous ever imposed by conquerors upon the conquered in modern times. To quote Mr. Moses's own words:

I hope, moreover, Mr. President, that an examination of the treaty will convince others, as it has convinced me, that the instrument is infinitely worse for us than even the League of Nations, bad as it is; for whatever may be said of the baleful consequences which will flow to the United States from the operation of the League of Nations, they are, after all, in *futuro*; whereas the provisions of this treaty immediately and without recourse thrust us automatically and by authority into the endless snarls of attempting to set new boundaries for contentious races in Europe and impose upon us a share in the task of holding Germany in leash, of stifling her industrial development, and even of framing and applying the most essential of her internal statutes.

MR. KOLCHAK is an exceedingly trying person. No sooner do the Allies agree to recognize him than he loses Perm and Ekaterinburg. No sooner does Mr. Polk announce to the assembled French journalists in Paris that America will give moral "and probably material" support to Kolchak than that worthy removes his headquarters from Omsk to Irkutsk, 800 miles away—"some strategic retreat," if we may indulge in the slang of the day. It is at least for Kolchak an interesting preparation for the final and inevitable jump from Irkutsk to Vladivostok, but it must make it a little bit trying for gentlemen in positions like Mr. Polk to know at just what point the moral and probably material support is to be extended. Meanwhile, the Russian troops in the Archangel sector continue to go over to the Bolsheviks, and the British are making every effort to get their troops out safely by September. To our great credit it is reported that the American representatives in Paris have declined to consent to a further British naval blockade of Russia; and

Lenin is reported as proposing to retire for a time just to let Russia see that she cannot organize herself without the Bolsheviks. But Denikin, Kolchak, and many others are ready to try, and Denikin, it is asserted, continues now to gain ground after his recent withdrawal. It is all confusion worse confounded.

IN launching its sudden, headlong and doubtless well-meant campaign to cut down the cost of living, the Administration seems about to enter upon a brand-new midsummer diversion. The President introduced the subject to the attention of the Congress with a few well-chosen words to Mr. Esch, the chairman of the House Committee on Commerce, and the Congress obligingly cleared for action with the joyous alacrity of a boy after a butterfly. In this connection, it is to be noted that Mr. Lee, in serving general notice of another wage-demand forthcoming from the railway men, had stated that the men would prefer a reduction in the cost of living to a raise of wages, if they could have their choice. The Congress has made an impressive sacrifice to the public welfare by submitting to the inconvenience of giving up its recess; but beyond this, it has not decided on a definite course of action in the premises. The headlines, however, intimate that when it makes up its mind to a programme, its proposals will be quite elaborate and searching—no, we remember that “drastic” is the proper word. The President gracefully waves a joss-stick before the fane of the insatiable bureaucratic instinct, in suggesting the creation of another board to regulate rates and wages on the railways; but the effect of such action upon the cost of living is not obvious. There is a suggestion, too, that the price of wheat, which the Government fixed at \$2.26, may be cut to the consumer, and the difference made up to the producer out of the billion-dollar guarantee-fund. Further, the public is to get some relief out of the sale of army-supplies at prices somewhat under the market. It is also reported from London that the Supreme Economic Council is considering a return to the war-time system, under which the Allies made collective purchases of foodstuffs. Then, finally, we are told with Rooseveltian gusto that Tray, Blanche, and Sweetheart are now going to be loosed in earnest at the heels of the profiteers! We are evidently about to see a fine recrudescence of the Folk-Heney-Roosevelt theory of reform, i. e., that the matter is one to be settled by putting large numbers of people in jail; that if you can only get enough people in jail, everyone will be honest, happy, and well-fed. In fact, from a perusal of the papers, one might say that profiteer-baiting would perhaps supplant Negro-baiting this autumn, as one of the spectacular public attractions of the Capitol.

THERE is a poverty of invention in these proposals that strongly supports the belief that the Administration is not particularly in earnest. No political government, as far as we are aware, has ever done anything for the welfare of its people except under quite heavy pressure; and certainly, none has ever made a serious attempt to reduce the cost of living unless it were much worse frightened than our Government is, or needs to be. The French Government has lately made such an attempt, as well it might; but the revolutionary spirit is not working strongly in America and this Government is nowhere near the last ditch. Hence, its present enterprise may be regarded as a demonstration which has usefulness, first, as a fairly high-scented herring

to draw across the trail of foreign affairs on the first page of the newspapers; and second, to distract attention from the fundamental economic principles which are operating inexorably upon the cost of living. We do not overrate the intelligence of members of the Congress; but after all, as a learned English counsel said, they are vertebrated animals; and it is therefore incredible to us that any of them should take seriously the proposals that we have enumerated. We are confirmed in this scepticism, moreover, by our knowledge that if the Government really wished to make sound proposals to reduce the cost of living, it has several men available within the Administration itself who should be able to formulate them most competently. Mr. Baker could do it, and so could Mr. Lane; Mr. Post or Mr. Herbert Quick could do it even better. But better still, why might not the Congress save time by basing a bill on the well-known work of Commissioner Howe, entitled “The High Cost of Living”? The Administration is by no means shorthanded of fundamental economists, if it sincerely wants to make a serious approach to this subject. It is really an odd thing, when one comes to think of it, that none of these gentlemen have been heard from. Nothing would give us greater pleasure than to read a manifesto on the impending Congressional procedure, signed by the five names we have mentioned—except, perhaps, to read the opinion of Mr. Lane, speaking as an economist, on the plan devised by the Secretary of the Interior for settling soldiers on the land.

THE Railroad Brotherhoods chose a critical moment last week to put forward again their “Plumb plan” for Government ownership of the railroads and operation by the employees. They selected a day when the railroad shopworkers were on strike and the Brotherhoods themselves had just given notice to the Government that wages must go up unless the cost of living came down, and they achieved a publicity to make every press agent the country over envious, our ill-informed dailies treating it as a new proposal, instead of one mooted for months past and endorsed by the American Federation of Labor. But they will be ill-advised if they couple their plan with threats of strikes to enforce it. There is much merit in the plan and also much that must be carefully studied and worked over to make sure that there are sufficient safeguards for the public and all concerned—Mr. Plumb’s plan for valuation of the railroads, for instance, which *The Nation* recently published, being open to much criticism. But so far as this journal is concerned, we are quite clear that no scheme for the future operation of the railroads should be considered which does not give to the workers a large share of the actual control and management thereof. Unless financial responsibility is in part centred on the employees, the outlook for the future of the roads is poor indeed. From now on, the Brotherhood, or Plumb plan, will be foremost in the discussion of this burning question, which will test the constructive ability of President and Congress to the full. But they should not be forced to decide under duress or under threat of a nationwide strike.

THAT Secretary Baker has finally yielded on the Universal Military Service proposal must destroy the last vestige of faith in him which the liberals have had. As for the military proposal itself, that we shall have a standing army of 510,000 men and in addition 600,000 boys of nineteen years of age receiving annually military training for

a period of three months, shows conclusively how we have been conquered by the spirit of the German militarism we set out to overthrow. If Congress were passing upon the treaty in a rational manner, this project alone would defeat the treaty. Of what use to us is a League of Nations if for three months every year we must have simultaneously under arms one million one hundred thousand of our youth, in addition, probably, to two hundred thousand sailors and marines? Was the war fought merely to transfer militarism from Berlin to Washington? We cannot believe that the proposal will be accepted by the American people, but if it is, it will be another nail in the coffin of the existing social system.

THE Mexican situation gets distinctly worse. There are cheers in Congress for a representative who demands intervention to make Mexico stable. The State Department adds fuel to the flames by giving out the announcement that an American boy has been kidnapped. Only here and there are voices heard protesting against the haste to rush us into hostilities. Fortunately, there are some newspapers, notably in the South, that have not yet lost their heads, or have not yet deliberately decided to take this opportunity, when we still have 700,000 men under arms, to clean out Mexico. If there are those who would prevent war, they must leave no stone unturned, for there are too many signs that the President is weakening; the restoration of the embargo upon arms makes, of course, directly against Carranza, for the illicit smuggling of arms to revolutionists goes on steadily and with plenty of connivance on the part of Americans. And as for the now protesting newspapers, if the President gives the word that our sacred honor, self-determination, rights of small peoples, and the safety of democracy demand another war, they will fall in line at once with the old, familiar cries of patriotism and the demands for the choking off of all criticism lest it give encouragement to the enemy. And, of course, the Espionage Act will be invoked again, just as soon as a state of war is declared.

THE action instituted by Attorney-General Newton of New York to revoke the charter of the Rand School and to have a receiver appointed was promptly dismissed when it came before a Supreme Court Justice on July 30, the Attorney-General, despite weeks of notice and of infinite bluster and threatening in the newspapers, announcing that he was not ready to go on with the case. He now asserts that he will bring another action based on a much broader complaint because of newly discovered evidence. Everything about the case points to its political character. Mr. Untermeyer has done a most valuable and patriotic act in volunteering his service, without pay, to expose what has been going on, and he has emphatically pointed out that the attorneys for the State were much more concerned in getting publicity for themselves by trying the case in the newspapers than in considering the rights of anybody involved. The regrettable thing is that Mr. Untermeyer has been standing alone. He should have had the support of other members of the bar, and the National Association for Constitutional Government ought to have rallied to the defence of the School, precisely as the Bar Association appointed a committee of lawyers, at the time of the assassination of McKinley, to see to it that the loathsome wretch who killed him got a fair trial in accordance with the traditions and standards of the American bar. Mr. Untermeyer is no social-

ist, and the Bar Association's lawyers were certainly not anarchists; they simply have felt that the safety of the country depends upon the rendering of exact justice.

"I FEEL that I am not fitted to be a Solon, and it is my belief that any service man who tries, because of his war record, to be elected to an office for which he has not the qualifications makes a regrettable mistake. We did not go into this war to win personal preferment." These wise and patriotic words come from Major Edward B. Stone, "who led the charge of the old Third (New Jersey) Regiment against the Prussian Guard in the Argonne." Offered both a Democratic and a Republican nomination for office, he spurns them in a manner to make many regret that he is not to be had for service in the New Jersey Legislature. This is one of the many encouraging signs that the veterans of the World War do not propose to make the mistakes of their fathers of the Civil War. Just this absence of any marked desire either to run men for office because of their war records, or of returned soldiers to engage in a wild rush for office is most gratifying. True, there are exceptions to the rule. Two soldiers have already been selected for judicial office in New York, but they were in public life before entering the army. We also have the interesting case of a woman nurse who has been selected by the Democrats to defeat for reelection Thaddeus Sweet, the Speaker of the New York Assembly, who was responsible for the killing of various bills for the betterment of the status of women and children. She not only has the prestige of serving abroad, but also of being a "whirlwind campaigner." Lieutenant-Colonel Roosevelt, on the other hand, is an example of those who are frankly turning to politics as a career, with an excellent war record as a chief background. There are cases like this out West, too, but in the main there are a good many who feel, like Major Stone, that it is time to lay aside one's war record.

IN last week's *Nation* we commented upon a statement cabled to *The New York World* that two British officials, Mr. Walter Long and Mr. Austen Chamberlain, had invested in Russian securities since the armistice. The assertion, it appears, originated with *The London Nation* and *The Daily News*, and the latter has had to print a hasty apology, under threat of suit, for the way in which it presented the statement of its London contemporary. We are very glad to let our readers know that we, too, were misled, for it seemed about the most disheartening news which has come from Great Britain in a long while. But for the Marconi scandals, it would have seemed unbelievable, for England is rightly proud of the integrity of her public men. For officials in such high position to be dabbling in Russian stocks after intervention had been decided upon would have been utterly depressing. The past week has also witnessed a reference by Mr. Bonar Law, speaking for Lloyd George, to the statement first made in these columns that when Mr. Bullitt and Mr. Steffens went into Russia, they carried a memorandum in the handwriting of Lloyd George's private secretary, Philip Kerr. This denial we are not as yet ready to accept, in the first place because of the character of *The Nation's* information, and in the second place because the denial read that no instructions were given by Lloyd George or Mr. Kerr. Our assertion was that the memorandum was in the handwriting of Mr. Kerr—not that Lloyd George had composed it, or Mr. Kerr either.

An Appeal to America Not Yet Written by Woodrow Wilson

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN! The past weeks have witnessed two outbreaks of such violence by one group of our citizenry against the other as profoundly to affect the conscience of all thinking Americans. I refer, of course, to the race riots in Washington, under the shadow of the Capitol, and in the city of Chicago. Coming at the very moment when the covenant of the League of Nations, which will constitute, protect, and advance the new order of the world, is being debated, these events are profoundly disconcerting, since they will immediately be seized upon in enemy countries and by hostile forces everywhere to cast doubt upon the sincerity of our professions. But if we were not in the act of reaching a decision of profoundest importance to generations yet unborn, we ought still to be deeply stirred by these terrible, these heart-rending crimes.

The evidence at hand points not only to a failure of the civil authorities to act promptly and so prevent loss of life; it goes to prove that in each case the white race was the aggressor. This makes the matter infinitely worse; it casts a stain upon everyone of the majority group in our land. It is the more censurable because our Negro troops are but just back from no little share in carrying our cause and our flag to victory. As they stood by the majority, so must and should the majority of our citizenry now stand by them with true Christianity. I speak the more feelingly since I, myself, am conscious of having neglected this vital subject; it is the first time during my Presidency that I have spoken out in regard to these relations of our component races. But the very fact that I have kept silent heretofore makes it incumbent upon me to speak out now when the clashing of races, if continued, will be fraught with gravest peril to our American institutions, and will make a bitter mockery of that appeal of our greatest President, "lest these dead shall have died in vain."

For we must not forget that these colored fellow-citizens of ours are what we have made them. They did not seek our shores, but for two centuries we profited by their exploited and unpaid labor, and when we set them free, we turned them adrift without a dollar, without recompense for lives of unending toil. The nation washed its hands of them; it left them ragged, unlettered, unguided, to bear responsibilities of citizenship soon to be severely limited, the prey of labor exploiters and unscrupulous employers. They never asked for reimbursement; they bore no grudge; a great and growingly prosperous section of our country, once ruined, has risen again by their toil. If they are uneducated, if they have troublesome social traits, if their labor is often uncertain, surely the fault lies with those of us who rule and hold every important political office in America. They are our wards and we cannot deny our trusteeship if we would. If they stumble and fall it is our fault as well as theirs. Why? Because the laws of this country—as I have written before—do not prevent the strong from crushing the weak. That is the reason; and because the strong whites have crushed and held down the weak blacks, the strong whites dominate the industry and the political and economic life of this country. *We must not pit power against weakness; we must not permit any*

prejudice of caste or color or class to injure any group of citizens or make difficult their lot in life, or to deny to them one iota of any privilege which, under the laws of our country and of God, should be theirs. For, as I have said at another time, "this is the country which has lifted to the admiration of the world its ideals of absolutely free opportunity, where no man is supposed to be under any limitation except the limitation of his character and his mind; where there is supposed to be no distinction of class, *no distinction of blood*, no distinction of social status, but where men win or lose on their merits. I lay it very close to my conscience as a public man whether we can any longer stand at our doors and welcome all newcomers upon these terms." We truly cannot if we will not live in harmony, peace, and justice with ten millions of our countrymen. We cannot undertake the Americanization of those who come to us from abroad if we cannot Americanize ourselves. We should assume no new problems while our old ones are unsolved; we should attempt to supply happiness to no newcomer until we are satisfied that we can assure it for those already here. And as I have faith in America, so have I faith that we can work out this problem. Hence I shall call together at once in session at Washington the wisest of both races, that we may counsel together to find the way out and upward.

Yesterday, and ever since history began, men were related to one another as individuals, and it is impossible to escape this relationship if we would. We are still our brother's keeper and we must abide with him in affectionate goodwill since we cannot dwell apart. The same flag covers us all; the same love of liberty fills our hearts; the same blood of America pulses through our veins, sanctified but now upon the battlefields of France. I realize that at bottom economic questions as well as racial traits keep us asunder, for—may I not quote from myself again?—"the truth is that we are all caught in a great economic system which is heartless." "Why are we in the presence, why are we at the threshold of a revolution? Because we are profoundly disturbed by the influences we see reigning in the determination of our public life and our public policy. There was a time when America was blithe with self-confidence. She boasted that she, and she alone, knew the processes of popular government; but now she sees her skies overcast; she sees that there are at work forces which she did not dream of in her hopeful youth. Don't you know that some man with eloquent tongue, without conscience, who did not care for the nation, could put this whole country into a flame . . . crying, 'This is the way. Follow me!'—and lead in paths of destruction?" Shall we by a rule of bloodshed and violence, by injustice, by disfranchisement, by patent and shameless discrimination make ripe and ready for such a demagogue ten millions of our fellow-countrymen? I repeat, "We are not the friends of any class against any other class, but our duty is to make classes understand one another. Our part is to lift so high the incomparable standards of the common interest and the common justice that all men with vision, all men with hope, all men with the convictions of America in their hearts, will crowd to that standard, and the new day of achievement may come for the liberty which we love."

Some Astounding Diplomatic Revelations

WE publish in this issue of our International Relations Supplement a most interesting summary of material which the Russian Soviet Government has screened out of the sludge of the old Czarist Foreign Office in Petrograd. Like the secret treaties which were exhibited to the world by the same hands, it is of great assistance in straightening out our knowledge of the inside history manufactured by diplomats in the pre-war period. Russia wanted Constantinople; and it will be remembered that long before the ingenious plan of the "mandatory" had been concocted, the Czarist Government was to receive that prize with the full consent of the Allied Powers—on the usual highly moral pretext. The present document shows up the deal made with Italy over this matter in 1909, which bargains for a "mutually benevolent attitude" towards Italy's interests in Tripoli and towards Russia's interests in the Straits. The Straits were then the property of Turkey, a power friendly to Germany. The Tripoli war broke out in 1911; and we then have Isvolsky writing that Russia "must make sure in one form or another of a declaration from Italy that now that she is carrying into execution the claims on her side . . . she will equally in the future keep her word with us."

Isvolsky was Ambassador to France; and what he has to say about the confiscation of French public opinion through the press is simply priceless. "It is of the highest importance to see to it that we have a good press here . . . As an example of how useful it is to have money to offer the press . . . I know how Tittoni has worked up the leading French papers most thoroughly and with the most open hand. The result is now manifest to all." Here we have the diplomat's estimate of the press, expressed with the most naïve freedom and confidence. Isvolsky, too, was an Allied diplomat—he was no Bernstorff, nor was Tittoni a Dumba. They were brought up, presumably, in the most enlightened traditions of Allied diplomacy, or they could not have held their positions; and this—this candid and cynical proposal for the wholesale corruption of the press—is to us a touching evidence of the quality of these traditions. It affords ground for a profoundly interesting retrospect upon the part played by the American newspapers during the period of the war, prior to our entrance. An extremely clever political satire called "The Re-Conquest of America," was recently printed as a pamphlet and circulated widely. When all allowance is made for its obvious propagandist character, it nevertheless presents facts enough to indicate a distinct possibility of a dangerous English influence upon the American press.

In 1912 Isvolsky reports President Poincaré's assurance of French support in case a conflict with Austria involved the armed intervention of Germany. At the same time (September, 1912) the Russian Foreign Minister, Sazonov, visited England; confidentially informed Sir Edward Grey of the Russian-French naval agreement, whereby the French fleet would keep the Austrian fleet out of the Black Sea; and asked if England would do a like service by keeping the German fleet away from the Baltic coasts. "Without hesitation," Sazonov reports, "Grey replied that if the situation in question occurred, England would do everything to inflict the heaviest blow on German power." This, we repeat, was in September, 1912; and on June 11, 1914, *two months before the war broke out*, the following searching

questions were put on the floor of the House of Commons:

Mr. King asked whether any naval agreement has been recently entered into between Russia and Great Britain; and whether any negotiations, with a view to enable agreement, have recently taken place or are now pending between Russia and Great Britain.

Sir William Byles asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can make any statement with regard to an alleged new naval agreement between Great Britain and Russia; how far such agreement would affect our relations with Germany; and will he lay papers?

Sir Edward Grey: "The hon. member for North Somerset asked a similar question last year with regard to the military forces, and the hon. member for North Salford asked a similar question also on the same day, as he has done again today. The Prime Minister then replied that if war rose between European Powers, there were no unpublished agreements which would restrict or hamper the freedom of the Government or of Parliament to decide whether or not Great Britain should participate in a war. That answer covers both the questions on the paper. It remains as true today as it was a year ago."

The Prime Minister was Mr. Asquith; and it is interesting to find Sir Edward Grey reported by Isvolsky in April, 1914, as saying that there were elements in the British Government which were "suspicious of relations with Russia," and mentioning Mr. Asquith as among them. But far more interesting is Sir Edward Grey's statement, according to Isvolsky, that there could only be a question of a naval convention between Russia and England, because the disposition of England's land forces was already arranged. This was in April, 1914; and on April 28, 1914,

Mr. King asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether he is aware that demands have been recently put forward for a further military understanding between the Powers of the Triple Entente with a view to concerted action on the Continent in case of certain eventualities; and whether the policy of this country still remains one of freedom from all obligations to engage in military operations on the Continent.

The Secretary (Sir Edward Grey): "The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative, and as regards the latter part, the position now remains the same as stated by the Prime Minister in answer to a question in this House on the 24th March, 1913."

And on that occasion, March 24, 1913, when two members had asked whether England was under any obligation (and if so, what) to France to send an armed force in certain contingencies to operate in Europe, the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, replied:

As has been repeatedly stated, this country is not under any obligation, not public and known to Parliament, which compels it to take part in any war.

One might go further, if space permitted, but it is unnecessary. The world is under obligations to the Soviet Government for dragging these filthy skeletons out of their closet, by no means because they are an edifying spectacle, but to enforce the lesson intimated by Carlyle, that the only way to reform any Foreign Office, whether in Berlin, London, Washington, or Petrograd, or wherever found, is to put a live coal under it. Gradually, we believe, but very surely, the peoples of the world will begin to inquire into the theory of the State and the nature of political government, in order to find out why the State cannot be served, under the principles of even elementary morality.

Canada's Industrial Report

TWO very detailed and voluminous reports on industrial relations were laid before the Canadian Parliament early in July by the Royal Commission, whose functions are somewhat similar to those of our own Industrial Relations Commission. The majority report bears the signatures of five members; the minority, of two. Between them, it may be fairly said that they comprise about every standard remedy for industrial unrest. In fact, the legislation recommended is so extensive in its scope and includes so many measures, that no doubt it will all have to be culled and sifted—probably by another commission—before anything is really done.

The philosophy of both reports appears essentially the same; that is, the remedies proposed by both are purely bureaucratic. They follow closely the line of recent legislation laid down in England. The majority report, for instance, calls for the eight-hour day, the minimum wage, insurance against unemployment by reason of sickness and old age, collective bargaining, industrial councils, a general conference of labor and employers, and Government action for building workmen's homes. Some of these recommendations appear to be copied directly from British legislation, even though, as the minority report points out, the Commission had no evidence presented to it concerning the practicability of these experiments in the mother country, or any reliable account of how they had worked out so far. This does not show such a failure in initiative as would appear on the surface of the statement; for about every palliative and bureaucratic plan that ingenuity could devise has been worked upon and experimented with in England.

Some of the findings of the Commission are interesting from the point of view of international study. There does not seem to be any serious unemployment in Canada, notwithstanding many are unemployed; the difficulty being, as here, in dislocations, largely voluntary and calculated, between jobs and men. The soldiers, that is, do not know what they are going to do, but are sure they are not going to do what they did before. Hence, unrest was found to be greatest where there was most unemployment. There is a great shortage in farm labor; one employment officer had on his list 1,500 applicants for farm laborers, and 1,000 men who needed work, but could not succeed in bringing them together.

The high cost of living was found to be almost if not quite the major factor in unrest. The Canadian workingman seems to be learning something about the difference between real wages and apparent wages, which his American brother, owing to long experience with a high tariff, learns more slowly. He is noticing that an advance in wages is always balanced by a rise in the price of necessities, and that the agitation for higher wages brings him no real advantage. Some day, no doubt, he will have occasion to make a similar estimate of his real position under the ameliorations proposed by the Commission, and his faith in the panacea of Governmental action may undergo a salutary impairment. The Commission remarks that the workingmen is diligently studying economic questions—we heartily wish that the same might be said here—and if this is true, he is in a good way. The minority report finds that there is no real poverty in Canada that is not being well taken care of locally; and it uses this fact to discount the need for old-age pensions and unemployment insurance. A fine stroke of unconscious

humor comes in this connection. In some of the most prosperous manufacturing towns, the report says, it was found that ninety-six per cent. of the employers had at one time been workers, rising by industry and thrift to the ownership of an industry. No doubt; but can it be done again? We have precisely the same history of industry in the United States. Mr. Jefferson says explicitly that involuntary poverty in his time was unknown; and we have all observed the same spectacular rise of workers to the ownership of an industry. Industry and thrift helped this rise, but inspection of the circumstances shows that another factor helped it much more powerfully. The nature of this factor we leave with our compliments to the Royal Commission, as a little riddle to beguile their midsummer leisure. If they succeed in guessing it, they will also be on the straight road to discover why in the United States such opportunities practically ceased and such poverty noticeably set in some time ago; and why Canada also is at this moment just on the edge of repeating our experience.

Being an Anglo-American document, the report could not very well get on without the shovelling-in of a dose of cant. The natural and customary amount of stress is laid upon the extreme gradualness advisable in making any change in the basis of industry. Industrial unrest is, finally, the expression of a desire of workmen to reach quickly an end which, for some reason or other and probably more or less in the nature of things, cannot be reached quickly, but must be attained by an evolutionary process covering a great deal of time. This may be; but unfortunately, at the present time, there is widespread doubt about it, and furthermore, there is a considerable disposition to experiment with various means of accelerating the process. Caution is an excellent thing; but if overdone, it sometimes gets one left in the lurch. We hope that the Canadian Government knows thoroughly the temper of its own people, and we are far from the impertinence of intimating that it does not; yet we cannot help wondering, in view of Winnipeg, whether Canada has so far escaped the contagion of European distrust of parliamentary institutions as to make so great a degree of caution about radical changes wholly safe.

After reading this report one wonders whether to make it the basis of admonition to our own Government. We have certainly needed a reconstruction programme, and that we have had none is due either to Mr. Wilson's absorption in the League and the peace, or his inability to develop concrete economic and social leadership fitted for the new time. The danger, of course, is that a merely governmental programme will with difficulty, if at all, rise above a narrow official viewpoint, with the usual servile devotion to compromise and expediency characteristic of politicians. We fear that they will not be able to see that these are times calling for deep, far-reaching reconstruction from the economic point of view rather than the political; that we must have free-trade, for instance, in our international relations; a re-study of the land situation, if only in view of the practical disappearance of free lands and the alarming drift toward large holdings by individuals or corporations, in which matter we could gain much by an appreciation of the basic causes of the Russian Revolution; and, for a third subject—among many others—a reorganization of industry, so that the workers shall share in their control and management.

The Great Laboratory

D R. OSLER, robustly pleading before the members of the Classical Association for the study of the Greek classics, and particularly for the study of Greek science, is typical of the attitude which broad and sound men take toward ancient learning. He is typical, indeed, of the attitude which such men take toward all learning: desirous that as much as possible of it should be used, but naturally inclined to that side which faces their own professions. Modern poets can never praise Greek poetry too much; modern philosophers, Greek philosophy; modern historians, Greek history; modern orators, Greek oratory. The trouble has been that the recent and desirable shift away from strictly ancient studies as the basis of all education has tended to leave such employments in the hands of the conservative, or at least of those whose imaginations live largely on the past, and has thus contributed to the notion that practical affairs—economy and polity—are not properly to be studied in Greek literature. To the extent that knowledge has been multiplied since Aristotle's day, this is, of course, true. We cannot look to the Greeks for information which they did not have, and it would certainly be most un-Greek to neglect superior sources of knowledge merely on the ground that other sources were better established in an old tradition. But undoubtedly this alienation of men of affairs from ancient studies has been due less to the deficiencies of the Greeks than to the deficiencies of the teachers of Greek, who, so long holding a vested interest in education everywhere, permitted themselves, like other vested interests, to fall into sluggish routine and tyranny, a pitiless round of grammar without sense and of words without life. The reaction against their monopoly has been, like most reactions so forced, probably excessive. In our discovery that we had long overvalued the scanty amount of grammar and prosody which unwilling students actually carried away from their compulsory struggles with Greek, with the mere letter of its language without any deeper spirit or meaning, many have come to undervalue the Greek world as a laboratory in which, better than almost anywhere else in history, we may study human beings vividly and rationally engaged in the conduct of human life.

No other laboratory can ever compare with this in importance for us. Racial or national jealousies do not enter into our calculations here. We have no more right as Americans or Britons or Frenchmen or Germans to be jealous of the primacy of Greece in such matters than to be jealous of the multiplication tables because they happen to enjoy a certain strategic position with regard to all other facts. It is true that we are no longer allowed the luxury of believing, with the eighteenth century, for instance, that in looking back to Greece we are looking at the very fathers of the race, who "discovered not devised" the rules of nature, which until then there had been no men to find out. All the more, however, are the Greeks instructive to us when we realize that they, too, had to free themselves from immensely ancient bonds of tradition and superstition. What clear reason did for them, ceaselessly revolving and inquiring, it has at least a chance to do for us, if we want it to. Study the Greeks and you are likely to stop hugging prejudices, or taking pride in them. Study the Greeks, and a hundred petty reverences fall away in a light as lucid as the Athenian atmosphere. There ought to be custom compelling every Amer-

ican teacher and journalist and public man to read the informal monthly comments of Professor Gildersleeve in *The American Journal of Philology*, in order to observe a mind clarified by more than seventy years of close association with Greek thought and culture until it is incapable of muddiness or stupidity. The day's work, of course, properly concerns us every day, as it did the Greeks; but, as a good maxim says, the man who knows only his business does not know his business. Why will some one not speak out and say what events have lately shown—that a knowledge of history and literature is indispensable in affairs, and that only those men, barring a genius or two, have shown any conspicuous talent for leadership in our terrible decade who have known something about history and literature? It is true. If we were beasts, we should not especially need history; we should have instinct. But having, as men, exchanged instinct for reason, we need as much of the past as we can get—remembering that every man is free, thanks to the multiplication of records, to choose his own past; that is, to choose that part of human history between him and Adam which is worth most. The Middle Ages are good to illustrate devotion; the Renaissance, passionate individualism; the rise of the Americas, civilized men pitted against virgin nature. But Greece surpasses them all not only in reasonableness, but also in completeness and sharpness of outline. She is the best microcosm, with the scale best adjusted to our vision. She is the best crystal, most purely revealing the vast matters therein pictured; she is the best laboratory, and under the simplest and loveliest conditions exhibits the processes of life which ordinarily appear confused and vexed, and never more than now, when the example of Greek lucidity and intellectual freedom is needed as not for two thousand years.

The claim frequently made, that we cannot find in Greek experience enough that is analogous with our problems, because Greece had so simple and circumscribed an existence, and lived in a world so little complicated by machinery, means no more than to say that in a laboratory, generations of guinea-pigs succeed one another with a lower mortality than in Guinean jungles, or that diamonds may be made out of their raw materials without the geological convulsions of which in nature they are admirable but accidental by-products. That is what laboratories are for, to exhibit simply the behavior of complex things. And the parallel between laboratories for matter and laboratories for mind has more than a fanciful value. Life in Greece was reduced to the simple facts of the human intelligence, leaning less than anywhere else upon mere tradition, upon mere materials, upon mere superfluities. Much as we have grown in range of knowledge by our study of the physical universe, and little as we can afford to reject any wisdom founded upon it, we need often to remember that in practice the centre of our universe is still the mind of man, that for the most part we have to conduct our affairs as if really the Ptolemaic system were good astronomy, as it is very fair politics and morals. The study of the material universe and all sorts of highly specialized studies tend to draw us away from these central facts, as pedants and casuists are continually being drawn away from fundamental principles. The principles, however, are still fundamental, and to forget them is fatal to sanity or large accomplishment.

The Plot Against Mexico—III

By L. J. de BEKKER

CAREFUL reading of recent anti-Mexican oil propaganda shows that the press agency desires to impress four points on the public: (1) There is no plot against Mexico. (2) The plot against Mexico was discovered or invented by an author of artistic temperament. (3) The oil men are spending only \$30,000 a month in maintaining armed rebellion against the legitimate and recognized Government of Mexico through subsidies to the bandit Pelaez, and not \$200,000 a month, as they told the American Embassy in Mexico City. (4) The oil interests are really engaged in missionary work in Mexico, seeking rather to benefit the down-trodden peon than to exploit the natural wealth of the country for selfish purposes. These statements may seem contradictory, but they can be reconciled easily by any mind which has been thoroughly lubricated with petroleum. For my part, I rarely express doubt at any statement a press agent may make. It seems so useless. But points 1 and 2 are flatly denied in a document which is entitled to consideration:

WILSON TO END PLOT AGAINST MEXICO (By the Associated Press)

Washington.—Convinced that powerful influences are at work to force intervention in Mexico, Administration officials were today considering just what steps shall be taken to bring the agitation to an end. . . . President Wilson is said to be determined to stop the circulation of inflammatory rumors, and to take legal steps if necessary.

I yield the honor of discovery, if it is an honor, to the President of the United States, who is thus denounced, I believe for the first time, as an author of artistic temperament.

His proclamation of an order to stop gun-running into Mexico would indicate that he really means business, and there is no doubt that the complete pacification of Mexico would quickly be an accomplished fact if unlawful traffic in arms and ammunition were stopped, and legitimate sales to the constituted authorities encouraged. If the Police Department of New York city were denied the right to purchase weapons, and the gunmen and gangsters encouraged to buy automatics and ammunition in Jersey City, it is probable that there would be an increase of crime in New York, and there is no doubt about the effect of a similar policy for the last few years in Mexico. The number of murders of American citizens in the last nine years is the saddest of proofs that a definite policy is essential to peace along the border. Most of these murders were committed by outlaws armed with weapons of American manufacture, and trains have been blown up and bridges destroyed by dynamite "made in America."

Naturally the "flimsy" factory maintained by the interventionists in the Woodward Building, Washington, has been working double shifts behind closed doors for several weeks, for circumstantial evidence points to this as the propitious hour in which to force armed invasion of Mexico. The presidential terms of Woodrow Wilson and Venustiano Carranza are drawing to a close. Mr. Wilson, who has seized the republics of Santo Domingo, Haiti, and Nicaragua, without loosing the American grip on Panama, has

thrice invaded Mexico without a declaration of war, and might be persuaded to do so again. Indeed, the very terms of his latest proclamation make it possible for him to establish or overturn any Government in Mexico, simply by instructing Mr. Lansing to whom munitions may be consigned. The next president of the United States may be of a different moral and political type. Moreover, Mr. Carranza may be replaced by one of those smooth diplomatists not uncommon in Latin-America, with whom it would be next to impossible to pick a quarrel.

But the "flimsy" factory has had a run of bad luck. No sooner had it obtained first page in every daily in the United States for a picturesque story of an insult to the American flag than the Navy Department admitted that a party of skylarking sailors, who had gone fishing beyond the outposts maintained by the Carranza Government around Tampico, had been robbed; and that they had gone into the bandit-land (ruled by "the King of the Oil Fields") without permission, and had carried no flag. Efforts to fix on Mr. Carranza's soldiers responsibility for the murder of an American citizen and the outrages committed on his wife by bandits also failed, although the shocking story would have received more space had not the race riots in Washington seemed bigger news. The evidence of Ambassador Fletcher likewise proved a great disappointment to the interventionists. Instead of half the territory of the republic being held by the rebels, as *The New York Times* proved by a map and a long article on the day of its interesting inquest into the death of Francisco Villa, Mr. Fletcher said that practically the whole country was controlled by the Government at Mexico City. However, Mr. Fletcher, who had spent many months in Mexico, had been deluded by the Carrancistas, as Mr. Hearst, who has not been in Mexico, proved by reprinting *The Times's* figures, and *The Times* has told its readers just how many men would be needed to conquer Mexico.

Still there are hopeful signs for the future from the point of view of the interventionist. The great State of Texas, which so carefully enforces racial equality and Christian good government that there has only been one negro lynched since the race riots of last month, would like to conquer Mexico without aid from the Government at Washington. Furthermore, *The Times* refrained from killing Villa entirely, and the capture of Juarez by the angelic Provisional President of Mexico and Secretary of War Villa, which may be attempted again, would be a fine moral victory over the Carrancistas. And even if Juarez weren't captured, there would be found plenty of newspapers to devote a column on the first page to the glorification of Villa's victory, and his forbearance in executing only eight Carranza officials, and then deny the story next day in a stickful of type at the bottom of an inside advertising page. That was, of course, the way Chihuahua City was "captured" recently. It was briefly explained that Villa hadn't really captured the city, but was planning to do so; and so the eight Carranza officials came to life again! And most of our American dailies swallowed whole the extraordinary "evidence" presented by Mr. William Gates, although Mr. Gates is known chiefly from his propagandist articles in *The North American Review*

and *The World's Work*. We are indeed a credulous folk.

Besides, this would be the opportunity to do something for the army now being withdrawn from Europe. America is well supplied with munitions, with poison gas, and with seasoned officers. These officers, especially those who are being detained in the service, and can account for the fact in no other way, expect an invasion of Mexico. Talk to them in confidence, if you don't believe it, and see what they say. From the greenest cadet to the oldest U. S. A. retired, they expect to "clean up" Mexico. And the thing is so easy—on paper. A retired colonel made the statement a few days ago that it would take only 200,000 men to conquer and pacify Mexico. But this is an exaggerated estimate. Plans have actually been drawn, and placed confidentially before more than one United States Senator and more than one member of the House of Representatives, showing that only 35,000 men will be required. These plans are familiar also to at least two men as remotely apart as New York and Mexico City, for both have talked to me about them, and their figures were identical. To capture and hold Vera Cruz, only fifteen thousand men will be needed. Twenty thousand more will suffice to conquer and hold Mexico City, and after that, a native constabulary will be organized in the Federal District, with young Mexican gentlemen holding minor commissions. With the aid of this force and a handful of Americans, the whole of the country will be brought under the sway of the American Government—and the oil men. Accompanying the army of invasion will be a force of trained publicity men, who will explain to the Mexicans in fluent Castilian that the intervention is purely friendly and pacific, that its sole purpose is to restore order, to make life and property secure, and to establish a decent system of education. Manifestos and proclamations in Spanish will spread these ideas broadcast through a subsidized press, and the people, the clergy, the Mexicans of the old régime—everybody, in short, will be happy, but especially the oil men.

I have never doubted the fighting quality of the American soldier. In fact, I rather glory in it. I feel equally confident in the power of a nation of 116,000,000 people to exterminate a nation of 15,000,000, if no other nation interferes; but in talking with these gentlemen, I couldn't help asking: "What do we get out of it?" "Mexico!" The answer was the same in Mexico City and in New York. My own bill of costs would be somewhat different. I believe that it would be necessary for the United States to maintain an army of 200,000 men for at least ten years, that the loss in American lives would be not less than 200,000, and the cost in money not less than \$2,000,000,000, and that having exterminated the fighting male population of the Mexican Republic, we should have won, besides Mexico, the hatred and contempt of the rest of the world.

It must be admitted, however, that while the psychological moment for invading Mexico is near at hand, some of the separate movements which are designed to strike terror into the hearts of the Mexican officials, and which might have had that effect had they been simultaneous, have failed to synchronize. In order to make it appear that President Carranza controls only a small part of the 767,005 square miles of Mexican territory—five per cent., according to the information made public by a New York banker at a public dinner last winter—*The World's Work* carried a series of articles giving a personal estimate of the other "chiefs." Included among them, of course, was Emiliano Zapata. While the mag-

azine was still on the news-stands, Zapata had passed to the Great Beyond, having long before ceased to be a real factor in the affairs of the State of Morelos, where he had once been supreme. An illiterate Indian, Zapata was none the less a master of guerrilla warfare. After his revolt against Huerta, that crafty soldier sent as many as 30,000 troops, armed with machine guns and cannon, against him. Zapata defeated small bodies of troops in many engagements, and when outnumbered, went into hiding. But when Constitutional rule was established in Mexico City, Zapata declined to acknowledge the leadership of Mr. Carranza, having been persuaded by Manuel Palafox, his secretary, that he, Zapata, should have been named for the presidency. Mr. Carranza, all attempts at conciliation having failed, sent General Pablo Gonzales into Morelos last winter. Zapatista rule came to a speedy end. Zapata was killed, together with his friends, Mejia, Amoles, and Palacios; "General" Jaurequi was executed after a court martial, and Zapata's body, having been exposed for purposes of identification at Cuatla, was buried there on April 12. The death of General Aureliano Blanquet, following that of Zapata, put an end to the possibility of overthrowing the present Government of Mexico by concerted rebellion within Mexican territory.

The landing of General Blanquet in Mexico was planned and financed in New York, and was attended by a fine burst of press-agent eloquence in the New York dailies. Who paid the bills is not stated. Perhaps it was the German Government, which defrayed the cost, as newspaper readers will remember, of the proposed invasion of Mexico by General Huerta, just before that worthy was captured by United States authorities and placed in the prison where he died. The fact that Germany financed Huerta's attempt against Carranza is a further revelation of the astute double-dealing of that evil race, because, if you will believe the oil men, Carranza himself was pro-German, and this naturally leads to the inference that Germany must also have backed Blanquet. At any rate somebody did. Blanquet was to join forces with Felix Diaz, who was said to control the States of Vera Cruz, Tabasco, Chiapas, Oaxaca, Guerrero, Michoacan, Jalisco, Guanajuato, Puebla, Hidalgo, San Luis Potosi, Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, Chihuahua, and the Territory of Tepic. Having been Secretary of War under Huerta, Blanquet was expected to unite the forces of Zapata, Diaz, Villa, and Pelaez, and thus form an armed ring around the Constitutionalist Government, and kill it by constriction, boafashion.

Unfortunately, at the time of his landing, Blanquet learned that Felix Diaz had abdicated his authority in all but one of the States named and taken refuge in Vera Cruz, where, with a few followers, he amused himself by dynamiting trains, until General Candido Aguilar put a stop to that sort of sport; after which he took to robbing hen-roosts. Villa, the leg he lost in the Columbus raid having been kindly restored by the New York newspapers, must have been courting the girl he married recently, as gravely chronicled in the same veracious journals on June 14, and Pelaez was fleeing before Carranza soldiers somewhere between Tuxpan and Tampico. Going first from New York to Havana, Blanquet and seven companions sailed for Mexico in a small vessel and landed at Palma Sola, some distance north of the port of Vera Cruz. Thence they made their way inland to the village of Chavaxtla, where they were welcomed by Pedro Gabay, one of the Diaz band; but while they were in conference, General Guadalupe Sanchez attacked them. Gabay fled,

but Blanquet was killed, almost by the first volley, and with him died General Luis Amado, Colonel Traslosheros, and his private secretary. General Francisco Alvarez was court-martialed and shot. *La Revista Mexicana* comments:

In his death the followers of Madero and the supporters of the Constitutionalist Government see a just vengeance for the treason and assassinations in which he took part. They also see in the collapse of the movement so pretentiously heralded and advocated, the practical collapse at no late date of the efforts of Felix Diaz, who remains in hiding in the mountain fastnesses of Vera Cruz, evincing, as he always has done, no "stomach" for a fight in the open, but contenting himself with sporadic raids for plunder and murder, and with the issuance of bombastic proclamations.

It may be that the plot against Mexico will prove a fiasco as a whole, that the complete fabric will be no stronger than

its weakest part, but it is now a danger, as I see it, more menacing to the United States than any other presented by our highly complex foreign relations. May we not hope that the financial controversies between citizens of the United States and our weaker neighbors can be solved by open diplomacy rather than by armed intervention, no matter by what altruistic professions violence is prefaced or accompanied? Shall we throw to the winds the peace of a continent as lightly as though it were a mere "scrap of paper"? Shall we deny to our next-door neighbor to the south the right of self-determination that we should not dare deny to our next-door neighbor to the north? Let us not send for the bowl of P. Pilatus. For after washing our hands we may be compelled to swear to all the world: "No, gentlemen; you mistake the odor. What you smell on our hands is attar of roses—not petroleum."

A Conversation on Ostriches

By STUART P. SHERMAN

"IF the world," said Thorpe in his usual ponderous manner of deepening a light chat by the fireside, "if the world possessed a livelier realistic imagination, it could dispense to advantage with a great part of its idealism." Thorpe is one of the intellectual amphibians developed by the unsettled environment of thought in our times. You know the sort. You can never tell where to have him, for he is always stoutly denying that he is what a moment before you thought he obviously was. "No, no, I'm not a pacifist. Don't class me with the Radicals. Why should you think I'm opposed to universal military service?" That sort of man.

We had been speaking of the nervous unrest and a kind of mild epidemic hypochondria which have been more noticeable through the period of negotiations for peace than they were in the course of the war. "The trouble is," I had suggested, "that we are all suffering from exacerbated imaginations. It is impossible to be cheerful in a constant sense that each one of us is personally responsible for the misgovernment of every Central European state. We cannot be expected to continue indefinitely responding with a lively pang to every toothache in the Balkans. Of course those who are appointed to the work must clean up the mess. But for the average man in America the motto should now be 'Business as usual.' In his recreative hours he should drop the war books and read Jane Austen's 'Emma.' He should abjure the war pictures and visit an Arcadian musical comedy. Seriously, I see no remedy for despair but some form of profoundly attending to one's own business."

"Ostriches!" snorted Thorpe. "You Tories are all ostriches. You started the war with your heads in the sand, you got them out toward the end of it, but you won't be happy till you have them snugly in again. Have you seen what Irving Babbitt calls the war?—'the crowning stupidity of the ages.' Babbitt is one of the half-dozen people who occasionally look at the total human aspect of the thing. What he means is that the entire performance, if held off and scrutinized at arm's length—say, an arm the length of Socrates's—looks like the act of an angry and underbred child. Now the time to punish and admonish a child is when his mischief is fresh in his mind. You are for soothing him with syrups. I don't agree with you. Most of the

people I know are already following exactly your prescription. Their nervous unrest is due to the fact that they are trying to have a good time when their consciences tell them that they deserve a thrashing."

"Come, now," I interrupted rather hotly, "don't you admit that the Germans were responsible for the war? When they struck at civilization, what were we to do?"

"Strike back of course," said Thorpe coolly; "but that, I trust, doesn't make it impossible for you to 'regret the entire incident.' The crowning stupidity of the ages might, I should think, without lifting the onus from the chief aggressors, be viewed by all the participants with a considerable measure of regret. I myself find the regretful mood morally so illuminating that I dislike to see it giving way so soon in this country to the post-war festivity. In the case of men who have been in the trenches and hospitals, perhaps a little riot of pleasure and relaxation is as useful as a hypodermic after surgical shock. If I were in Russia, France, or England, probably I should prescribe counter-irritants, lenitives, sedatives. Imaginations there have been cut into deeply enough to hold the impression. But the average American of my acquaintance has been just enough touched by the war to regret that he was not in it. He prepared, indeed, to face the full meaning of battle, but nine out of ten of him faced little more than Jack Fairley did, and stand in as much need of a sweet oblivious antidote."

I could remember nothing of Fairley but his name in a list of men who received their degree *in absentia*—for military service.

"Jack was the best tennis-player in college, the best dresser, the best cheek-to-cheek dancer. Popular son of prosperous father. Not a bad fellow. Clean-cut, well-groomed American type. I met him in the Pullman smoker a year ago last June, full of the war. He had won a second lieutenancy in the Coast Artillery, but was on leave, and off with his mandolin, in an admirably fitting uniform, to enliven and decorate some house-party or other. Jack has a flow of spirits, and told me of the hardships of his camp life by the sea. What I remember is his embarrassment at regulations which made it impossible for him to spend his evenings with certain privates of his company who

were also classmates and brethren of his fraternity. For this deprivation, however, he solaced himself at a neighboring sea-side hotel, where every evening patriotic young women of excellent families and first-rate personal qualifications danced with the officers for their country. He told me that he had two grand ambitions: the first was to fire his gun in France; the second was to come home, remove his puttees, and get into a pair of silk socks again. He has realized the second; and for the first, though he never got overseas, he is probably receiving substantial credit this summer among the fair friends with whom he is yachting off the Maine coast."

"Well," I inquired, "why shouldn't he? What do you want to do to Jack—make him miserable?"

"Not wholly," Thorpe retorted, "but I should like to send to him—and to his father—for summer reading in the hammock, a copy of Georges Duhamel's 'Civilization, 1914-1917.' It would stir up an organ in him that the war hasn't touched yet—his imagination. Have you seen the book? Goncourt Prize last year. Disquieting, but really worth reading. One of the notable impressions from the front. It hasn't the picturesque energy or sullen intensity of Barbusse. It isn't a merely excruciating picture of mental and physical horror, like Latzko's 'Men in war.' And it quite lacks the splendor of baffled fighting heroism that distinguishes Masefield's 'Gallipoli.' But it takes you overseas and puts you where you can see what went on here and there. Not the whole story but a part of it that you are inclined to blink at. Furthermore, it's literature; it has a personality of its own with a peculiar humor blending irony, tenderness, grimness, resignation—faithfully expressing the mixture of astonishment, curiosity, and dismay with which the average man in the years of our Lord 1914-1917 dumbly assisted the lords of the earth in consigning civilization temporarily—I said 'temporarily'—to the devil."

"I have read the book," I said, "with rather less enthusiasm. I must say it affected me very much as certain chapters in the modern novels do, chapters that I should like to tear out, chapters considering with a morbid and unholy curiosity and publicity the physiological processes attendant on an event which in the older fiction was smilingly reported by physician or nurse to a man 'pacing restlessly back and forth in the room below.' I object to these chapters because they tend to produce extravagant and unnecessary terror before an event which really must be faced if the agreeable race to which we belong is to increase and multiply and spread the blessings of civilization among the Prussians and other backward peoples. For precisely the same reason I object to Duhamel's book."

"I see," Thorpe broke in, "for precisely the same reason. Maternity and war are both necessary, both inevitable, if the race is to continue. You object to deterrents from either. In what German work did you learn of the sacred inevitability of war, the holy duty of handing the torch of battle on from generation to generation? Between deterring people from what is necessary to the perpetuation of life and deterring people from the unnecessary destruction of it, there is, I should think, a not inconsiderable difference."

"You do not, you said, take the radical pacifist position? You aren't ready with Russell to lie down and let the invader swarm over you?"

"No."

"Then confess that the book is dispiriting, demoralizing.

It steadily envisages the seamy side of military life without a glimpse of the incontrovertible glamor and glory of battle. That sort of writing is ruinous to morale. It is just what shouldn't be read by a young soldier. It sets the imagination to work. You recall why boys between eighteen and twenty make better soldiers than men of forty: they haven't any imagination. They don't consider what they are getting into, but put their heads down and go in. A man of forty lies awake nights seeing a picture of himself lying in No Man's Land under fire with his leg blown off. Duhamel sets your mind running that way."

"'Civilization,'" Thorpe admitted, "is not the thing to present to a soldier on the way to the front line trenches. It gives too vividly the sense of the sights and smells of the receiving hospital, the operating room, the morgue. But we are not on the way to the trenches now. Jack Fairley is probably reading *The Cosmopolitan* in his hammock at Bar Harbor. Other people, of whom life makes more serious exactions, are soberly reckoning up the profit and loss of the international readjustments we have just been making. There has been even a little fundamental reconsideration of the wisdom of making such adjustments in the manner hitherto fashionable among enlightened people. I should really like to see the matter quite thoroughly overhauled with all available evidence and testimony. The report of a French ambulance surgeon through whose hands the debris of battle drifted to the rear is a legitimate and useful portion of the evidence. I remember hearing a grizzled old Tartar of the Regular Army working up what you call morale in a bunch of young college boys. 'If you're killed,' he told them, 'you're all right. If you're wounded, you're a damn nuisance!' Those college boys all laughed heartily. Now Duhamel makes you understand why, if you're wounded, you're a nuisance."

"And what is the value of that?"

"As a modern realist in an age that prides itself on the remorseless facing of facts, I am in favor of removing the gilded lid of war and looking boldly inside. Somehow I don't fancy this notion of horrors that can only be met by boys who don't know what they are up against. Sending them in savors to me of what I call modern German idealism."

"Please explain," I said, for Thorpe knows no philosophy and uses the terms in odd senses of his own.

"Modern German idealism," said Thorpe, "means retreating from facts into the quieter region of ideas. It means, shut your eyes and everything is lovely. For example, in the days of the Belgian atrocities, the German idealist, we were told, laid this flattering unction to his sensitive soul: that the horror of military executions and other harsh punitive measures was mitigated by the fact that those who ordered the sanguinary acts were never the ones who carried them out. It is not clear that this division of responsibility diminishes the horror for the victim. But one readily understands that a cultivated judge who, in the purity of his military idealism, had ordered the shooting of Edith Cavell would sleep the better on the following night if not obliged to see the English nurse actually crumple up under the fire of his own rifle. Or, to remove the matter from the hot air of controversy, take the case of Pontius Pilate. As he appears to have been a man of some fineness of sensibility and at the same time tainted with Teutonic idealism, it is more than likely that he refrained from visiting Golgotha to investigate the mere physical consequences of his

having washed his hands of responsibility. He withdrew, I suspect, into his own cultivated though somewhat unimaginative mind, and left the eye-witnessing of the thing to a squad of soldiers under orders and to calloused workmen handy with hammer and nails."

"You mean to suggest that if Pilate had possessed a lively imagination, he might not have washed his hands?"

"Just that," said Thorpe. "I attribute the cruelty of his refined nature to his shrinking and cowardly imagination. It is the case of the whole modern world. You shut your eyes and wrap the mantles of your abstract ideas around you and lie down in the midst of horrible realities to pleasant dreams. You can't stand the gaff. Consider how you and other nice men and women shudder away from the deformed and malodorous results of the conflict of your own ideas in these times. I concede that your self-protective idealism has its uses in a crisis. It was the stimulant which made you enter and endure the conflict. It is the opiate which dulls your sense of its pains. It is as busy today as the robins that covered the babes in the woods, weaving a pleasant shroud for dreadful things, hiding them away from the eyes of men for fear of what they might do to the heart if they reached it rawly through the senses."

"Be a little more specific."

"Very well. The only son has given his life for his country. Do not ask for the details. They are distressing. What is left of the only son is brought home for burial. The good clergyman tactfully fixes the attention of father and mother upon the spiritual values preserved by his sacrifice. Over the shattered face the coffin lid is closed. Over the coffin the great flag is draped. Over the grave, smelling too pungently of freshly turned earth, a smother of flowers is strewn. The poet sings of victory. The politicians go forth to address their constituents. And Congress, in the warm after-glow of battle, cheerfully appropriates a million dollars to distribute up and down the land the trophies of the Great War."

"I see nothing objectionable," I said, "in any part of your programme. Everyone seems to be making the best of it. What more can one do? Surely you wouldn't propose harrowing the feelings of the parents who had lost their son by an exhibition or a Zolaesque description of the boy's face."

"No," Thorpe retorted tenaciously, "but I should like to harrow a little the feelings of parents who have not lost their son. I should like to harrow the feelings of Jack Fairley's parents. Already they and ninety per cent. of the American people are beginning to think of those four infernal years as a fairy-tale, with some breathless places in the middle, but coming out all right and happy in the end. In a little while the mere physical reek and wreck will be cleared away, and ten years hence our schoolboys will speak of the year 1914 without a thought of hunger, disease, gas-gangrene, trench fever, lice, or carrion—the spectres which rise in my mind today when I think of those German trophies in the park. The realistic imagination, which for a few bitter months brought these things home to comfortable people in America, will be slumbering again; and the young generation will fancy, as we did once on a time, that war is mainly an affair of flags and heroes and martial music."

"If you are not a pacifist," I said, "you sound remarkably like one. I don't see what you are driving at."

"You're mistaken," Thorpe replied, "I'm not arguing

against war. That would be silly. Senator Lodge and General Wood and other idealists insist that we shall have war every little while always; and what such men insist upon is pretty likely to take place. I think, as they do therefore, that we had better be prepared. Perhaps I believe in an even more comprehensive plan of preparation than theirs. Since they are always talking of the ships and guns, I'm willing to trust them to provide that element. What interests me is that the country should be kept in a state of imaginative preparedness; that is, I want to be sure that it is ready to go in with a clear realistic preliminary vision of costs and consequences, such as never entered the heads, for example, of the military idealists in Germany and Austria. Civilization is now in a horrid predicament from an overdrawn bank account, the result of a shift, evasive feminine habit of buying and 'charging' all sorts of expensive things without any adequate anticipative facing of the bills. War is a first-class luxury, the cost of which should be contemplated coolly, like the purchase of a yacht or the commission of a crime, to determine whether one can afford it. Too many of my neighbors fancy they are paying for the war when they are only detaching the coupons from their Liberty bonds."

"That is doubtless true," I assented, "but do you know any practical remedy?"

"Whatever," said Thorpe, "stimulates the imagination, that faculty which sees absent things as they really are, will be useful. The German war trophies will help. Duhamel's book will help. I have still another suggestion. In searching the Old Testament along with Mr. Wells and William Hohenzollern, I have lately been struck with the ingenuity of the ancient Hebrew kings and prophets in driving important matters in on the sluggish imaginations of their countrymen. I refer to the device of cutting a malefactor into twelve pieces and sending a section to each one of the tribes through all the coasts of Israel. Perhaps we ought not to follow this example literally. We might, I think, adapt its leading idea to our modern circumstances. We have at hand a fair number, not of malefactors, but of returned soldiers, already cut up by the enemy in various fashions, some with the loss of a leg, some an arm, some an eye or a nose or a larger segment of the face. What if to each town or village that received a German trophy, Congress should also send, to sit in the park at public expense, one of these more or less fragmentary men? Wouldn't it help unimaginative idealists to make rational estimates for the next war?"

"Thorpe," I said, "I'm glad you're absurd. If you weren't absurd, I shouldn't be at all sure you weren't seditious."

Contributors to this Issue

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LIEUT. A. A. BERLE, JR., a member of the secretariat of the American Peace Commission, was one of the nine who resigned as a protest against the betrayal of America's ideals by the peace treaty.

FELIX MORLEY is the author of the article, "Proposed Control of the Packers," in *The Nation* of July 19.

A Needed Republican Revolt

By FELIX MORLEY

Washington, August 2

FOR some weeks now one of the five subcommittees appointed by the Republicans to "probe" the War Department has been digging into the matter of the \$200,000,000 worth of surplus army foodstuffs which were rigidly kept off the domestic market for six months after the signing of the armistice. This subcommittee, with Chairman Reavis of Nebraska and Representative MacGregor of New York as its Republican members, and Representative Donovan of New York as the only Democrat, was successful in uncovering some very shady ways in which the War Department has handled its surplus food problem. Among other things it was shown that Secretary Baker had yielded to representations made by agents of the packers and canners asking that this food be kept off the domestic market to protect their business; that because of inadequate storage and the hot weather a large proportion of the food had rotted in the army warehouses; and that in spite of protests by Herbert Hoover, the War Department sales force prevailed upon him to buy \$22,000,000 of the army meat products stored in this country for resale in France, simply, it is asserted, in order to save the packers from having prices lowered in this country. This evidence was very skilfully brought out by Mr. Reavis, and if the Republicans had really desired the welfare of the people, they would not have made the grave mistake of at once overreaching themselves for partisan advantage. After several executive meetings of the full investigating committee, the Republican majority succeeded in reporting out and securing a special rule for the following carefully drawn resolution: "That the Secretary of War be, and hereby is, requested to place on sale without delay the surplus food products in the hands of or under the control of the War Department now stored in the United States, under such plan as will safeguard the interests of the Government and insure an opportunity to the people of the United States to purchase the same directly from the Government."

This resolution was simply a demand from Congress that the War Department carry out unaided an extremely complicated and difficult task, with an implicit refusal to give Mr. Baker any assistance whatever in doing it. Passage in this form would have been like telling a very inferior sort of Hercules to clean out the Augean stables overnight, knowing that he could not do it, and knowing also that the wrath of public opinion, easily aroused now on the cost of living question, would batter a number of political heads when the allotted task ended in inevitable failure. It was fully recognized beforehand that the War Department had neither money nor authority to handle the problem, and it was perhaps anticipated that if this resolution were to be passed in its original form, additional quantities of the food would spoil, because of inability to handle the distribution quickly enough without special authority.

In the meantime, while a group of Republicans was plotting this resolution, Representative Clyde Kelly, Independent Republican, of Braddock, Pennsylvania, was at work on a solution of constructive value. In its essence his proposal was to give Congressional sanction to coöperation between the War Department and the Post Office Department, where-

by the food surplus would be very largely distributed through the parcels post. Mr. Kelly surveyed the ground carefully before he began. He obtained Postmaster-General Burleson's endorsement and assurance that if every pound of the army food surplus was distributed through that service, the strain on the department would still be less than half that of the annual Christmas rush. He was told by Secretary Baker that the War Department would strain every nerve in coöperation. A number of Republican Congressmen at the Capitol and Miss Margaret Wilson, daughter of the President, at the White House, assured him of their firm backing. He put the plan up to officers of the National Consumers' League and half a dozen other civic organizations and got enthusiastic support.

Then came trouble. Mr. Kelly had incorporated his plan in a resolution, also introduced in the Senate by Senator Norris of Nebraska. But he knew that in a few days the House would recess, and that if it did not act promptly, his resolution would stay in committee while the food rotted. He appealed to the Republican leaders to substitute his resolution for that of the committee, and it was said, in so many words, by Representatives Mondell, Graham, and various others that while his plan seemed a real solution of the problem, the Republican party could not afford to endorse it because it offered the War Department a way out. On Tuesday, July 29, the subcommittee report on the surplus food scandal came up on the floor for debate. From noon until after nightfall a weary partisan wrangle dragged on, Republican speakers rightfully charging the Administration with incompetence and worse, the Democrats retorting that the majority was far more interested in the cheapest sort of partisan advantage than in getting food to the people. Finally the resolution itself was taken up. Mr. Kelly rose and offered an amendment of ten words to be added to the end of the Reavis resolution: "And such plan shall include utilizing the parcels post service." Representative Graham tried to rule it out on a point of order, but Speaker Gillett, who had handled the entire discussion with admirable fairness, prevented this. In the vote that followed, the Kelly amendment was adopted by 155 to 130, 115 Democrats and 40 Republicans voting in the affirmative, 128 Republicans and 2 Democrats in the negative. A minute afterwards the amended resolution went through by a vote of 265 to 4.

As things stand now the surplus food is really beginning to get to the people, and Representative Kelly's plan of utilizing the parcels post is to be relied on entirely by the War Department to see that housewives in the rural towns and outlying districts get equal shares of what is available. But the Republican leaders are incensed that public opinion, instead of focusing in wrath on the Administration, is now content with the fact that the surplus food is being actually distributed. There is a feeling of astonishment, mingled with anger at the 40 Republican bolters, that a portion of the rank and file should have dared to put public service above partisanship by supporting the Kelly amendment. The seriousness of the split is seen in the reports that both Mr. Graham and Mr. Reavis have threatened to resign from the investigating committee unless their party pledges itself in advance to support every resolution, without change, which may be reported out as the result of the probe.

It is pleasant, therefore, to see that the rump which backed up Mr. Kelly has no intention of being thus dictated to, but will stand up for its independence and its right to place patriotic service above partisanship.

The Betrayal at Paris

By A. A. BERLE, JR.

WE watched Mr. Wilson's triumphal entry into Paris. Plain people by hundreds of thousands acclaimed the embodiment of their hope that slavery to arms was at an end, and that a new era, dominated by a new vision, was at hand. Beside that welcome, the pomp and pageantry of thundered salutes or pennoned lancers in escort seemed tawdry and pale. We stood on the portico of the Crillon and said, "God preserve him; there goes the hope of the idealism of the world." This peace is Mr. Wilson's act and deed. It was not forced on him after diplomatic battle and defeat. The sins of omission are deliberate; those of commission are in many cases his considered choice. In many instances the men who actually worked with him fought to the end for their idea of the Wilsonian principles, to find their work nullified by the attitude of Mr. Wilson himself. They saw the famous Fourteen Points become stock jests in the Paris music halls. After the treaty was revealed in its full iniquity, some of them resigned; others protested within the American Commission. Three weeks later an opportunity was afforded not merely to correct the more glaring injustices, but to rebuild the structure upon the basis of good faith and fair dealing contemplated when the negotiations began. It was Mr. Wilson's choice to keep the treaty as it stood. Now it is for him to answer.

Every oppressed nationality found in the American flag a sign of justice. It was to the American Commission that representative after representative came. The Korean delegates, speaking for a country which in the past few months had paid a toll of blood and tears to Japanese tyranny, asked the right to present their case. Their wrongs were manifest and their cause just, yet Mr. Wilson gave them no assistance, and joined in preventing them from having even a day in court. The Egyptian nationalists, entitled in law to a hearing as part of the defunct Ottoman empire, and entitled in right as representing a movement of which even the British Empire could afford to take cognizance, were not even received by him. When they applied to the Americans in the delegation of which Mr. Wilson was head, the matter was taken up again; whereupon Mr. Wilson drew from his desk a secret agreement, made months before with the British Foreign Office, to recognize the British sovereign rights in Egypt, foreclosing in the privacy of the chancelleries the Egyptian right even to plead its cause. The Irish delegates received scant courtesy; it is yet to be learned whether a similar secret agreement had foreclosed their right. When Italy claimed a solid block of German population in the Austrian Tyrol, Mr. Wilson, over the protests of men in his own secretariat, allowed the claim. When German Austria proclaimed its desire to unite with the new Germany—its only opportunity for legitimate independent existence—the right was denied. It remained for Mr. Wilson in his homecoming speech to explain the brutal truth, that the "self-determination" clause was not principle but propaganda, to stir up peoples "hitherto under bondage to the power that victory had shattered." Even their liberation is not Mr. Wilson's act; revolution and popular uprising, not the justice of Paris, were the guarantors of their claims.

In certain instances we saw the principle actually per-

verted. There came the representatives of three Baltic nations, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, who were seeking to clear their borders of Soviet Russia's armies, to establish their independence of any Russian Government. Their claims to self-determination were recommended to Mr. Wilson. For months they were fed with promises. At the close of the Conference, the famous Kolchak correspondence was initiated, culminating in Kolchak's cynical offer to work out a relationship between Russia and these small peoples "under the good offices" of the League of Nations, with the string added that the League was not to have any power to decide. A restored Russia was to do that. But in the interim, while the hope of independence could be used as a spur, the principle of self-determination was to encourage these countries to supreme heroic sacrifices in the fight against Bolshevism; when they had succeeded, they were to be handed over to Kolchak's restored Russia. Mr. Wilson's most terrible surrender may yet force America into the horrors of an Oriental war. By all his principles, the Shantung peninsula should have been cleared of foreigners and returned to China. The various experts in the American Peace Commission so advised him. The world knows now that three of his own commissioners, Henry White, General Bliss, and Robert Lansing, wrote him that Japan's claim to Shantung must not stand. The British and French had secretly agreed to support Japanese claims as a bribe to induce her to continue her efforts in the war. Both Lloyd George and Clemenceau put the decision in Mr. Wilson's hands, with all the facts; and he supported the secret agreement, from which they would gladly have been freed. Hardly a member of the American delegation has any excuse to make for that decision. Had it been left to the delegation without Mr. Wilson, a just result would have been reached. His own defence is as pitiful as the sin: he had previously denied racial equality guarantees in the covenant of the League of Nations, and having committed one injustice, he found himself obliged to conciliate the principal sufferers by committing a second.

Disarmament and the future ordering of public and private life on the theory that peace would endure was perhaps the greatest hope of the warring peoples. To every man-child in Europe it meant freedom from years of military servitude; from every home it meant lifting a burden of taxation and disruption. On the disarming of Germany as aggressor, all Powers could by covenant reduce their armed establishments. The German disarmament was decreed in humiliating detail; we waited in vain for propositions for simultaneous disarmament, in which would be included the protection of the free seas. In the conferences the American representatives stoutly stood for the principle; they had not learned that its real intent was to secure the defencelessness of one group of Powers, while the remainder of Europe and Asia armed against each other and their internal difficulties. Above all we were convinced that America's rôle in Europe must be made permanent in a league of honor, in which America, disinterested, untrammelled by old hate or new and secret bonds, should be able to move upon the high plane of idealism. The making of the projected League of Nations was not a creditable spectacle. Colonel House dickered and trafficked for it like any European diplomatic spoilsman. Every Power collected her price—recognition of secret treaty-rights, concessions, compromises. Moreover, the League was so constructed as to be in essence an alliance of five Powers. Clemenceau had stated openly that

he had no use for the League and would see to it that France's interests should be protected by alliance; and the closing act of the Paris drama was Mr. Wilson binding the United States, so far as he could, to defend France. The League itself, whose covenant by Mr. Wilson's act is linked irrevocably to a treaty which prejudices all the great questions which such a league should regulate, not only is not a partnership of ideals, but effectively prevents it. America is to be tied to this abortion of compromise and hate by the mechanism of the League. No one who followed the sinister and tortuous policy of the Quai d'Orsay, or the equally twisted policy of Downing Street, or the ruthless Prussianism of Tokio will call an obligation to defend their plunder a partnership of honor.

We all knew of repeated protests against the greater iniquities of the treaty. The Paris papers even published the fact that much of the treaty was shown to the American commissioners—aside from Mr. Wilson and Colonel House—at the same time that it was handed to Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau! Then there came a time—it was just after the German counter-proposals had been delivered to the Allies—when every British functionary from Lloyd George down besought Mr. Wilson to modify the treaty, to make it just, to do, in fact, the right he had been proclaiming. The British had seen too late the handwriting upon the wall. But Mr. Wilson, the fearless champion of the liberalism of the world, could save the situation by a ringing declaration or by a resolute stand. The appeal was vain. As between this treaty and one dictated by himself, Mr. Wilson chose this; and in full knowledge pointed the world back to the path of terror and tears. We were faced with the ghastly truth that we had refused to recognize with the tenacious hope born of faith: the master was himself the traitor. The power and splendor of Mr. Wilson's thought, the faith reposed in him by the plain people, the burning hopes and the new vision which he aroused deepen the tragedy. And the idealists throughout the world—who are indeed the plain people throughout the world, who lend a hand to an enemy in distress, and who would willingly beat their spears into pruninghooks—bewildered, defeated, betrayed, shoulder their burdens again. The braver even pluck up courage to seek anew the builder of more stately mansions. May their faith never fail!

Free Russia

By CLIFFORD FRANKLIN GESSLER

LOVE, and the glorious crimson wings of war,
The dear familiar sadnesses of earth,
Winds in the wood, and the new spring's sweet birth;
Old madnesses that men have perished for;
And loveliness that thronged the ancient day
With clash of crowding swords and trumpets' call
And heroes' deeds high graven on time's wall—
These have been sung: there is no more to say.

But out of the North, and from the frozen sea,
From minds unquelled by force, unbought by hire,
A Word goes forth, a faith for which men die:
A roar of crashing thrones—the folk are free!
O poet, plunge your pen in that high fire
And blazon it across the burnished sky!

In the Driftway

FAREWELL, Oscar Hammerstein, farewell from the fulness of grateful and kindly memory!

Tu qui canoro blandius Orpheo
Vocale ducis carmen, et exitu
Felicior luctuosis,
Saepe animam revocas ab umbris.

His obituaries mark him as "the eccentric impresario," and justly; for in the dominant civilization of the world, the civilization of Gradgrind, Chadband, Quinion, and Pecksniff, there was no more distinguished or irreconcilable alien. He worked incessantly, but not for money—which was eccentric. His brain teemed with inventive genius, which he commercialized only incidentally and with a grudging impatience of the necessity which interrupted the pursuit of what, with almost unimaginable eccentricity, he regarded as his true vocation. He might have been a commanding figure in industry or in commerce, yet he chose to be neither. His main interest was in the development of a purely spiritual activity. Above all, he believed in joy and in the formative power of joy. All this was the very height of eccentricity. Alien and eccentric as he was, yet how fortunate to have lived his seventy-two years before we all go quite into drab! Some of us there are, perhaps as eccentric as himself, who now remember with thankfulness how far his ideal of industry lay apart from Gradgrind's, of religion from Chadband's, of human happiness from Quinion's, of organized society from Pecksniff's. We rejoice to remember his vain and valiant service against the triumph of those saturnine ideals, his hatred of dismalness and hideousness, and his belief that they formed no part of man's natural lot. *Expectat vitam venturi saeculi!* He once said that the only reason he was afraid to go to heaven was that he might find a chorus that he had not picked out; but he now knows that it was only Chadband's heaven that he feared.

* * * * *

TO quote Woodrow Wilson against himself is now a commonplace. He can probably be lined up for and against about every issue and proposal of weight during the last twenty years. But the Drifter cannot refrain from quoting one thing of the President's because it is such an amusing likeness to himself, this characterization of his predecessor, President Tyler. It is to be found in page 102 of volume four of Mr. Wilson's "History of the American People":

In April, 1844, Mr. Tyler sent to the Senate a treaty of annexations which he had negotiated with Texas. Secret negotiations, a piece of business privately carried to completion and made public only when finished, suited well with the President's temper and way of action. A man naturally secretive; naturally fond, not of concealments, but of quiet and subtle management; not insincere, but indirect in his ways of approach, he relished statecraft of this sort and no doubt liked the Texan business all the better because it seemed to demand, in its very nature, a delicate and private handling. The Senate rejected the treaty by the very decisive vote of 16 to 35, men of both parties alike deeply irritated that the President should spring this weighty matter upon the country in such a fashion, taking no counsel beforehand save such as he chose to take.

* * * * *

ROMAIN ROLLAND interned in France? That is the news which has reached us. To the Young Democracy he has just written from a Paris address saying, like Jerome

K. Jerome, that "if human civilization is still to be saved, it can only be through the energetic awakening and alliance of the young people of the world, who must sweep from the path of progress the monstrous idols of the past, the poisonous prejudices, the tyrannies, the lies. I have little hope of change in the generation to which I belong. But my spirit and my heart have always been with the young, who travel always in the forefront, who never tarry, who carry in themselves faith in the future, and who want the sufferings of the old world to be destroyed and a new world to arise, happier and better." In this Ellen Key joins him: "There is now in this poor world no hope for help if the *young* do not help. My new book is dedicated to the young rebuilders of the world. I am with you, oh, how fervently!" But it appears that he writes now under strictest surveillance and that there is even question whether proceedings of some kind may not be started against him. "Rolland, the defeatist," the dispatch describes him. Of course, he was nothing of the kind—nor pro-German either; simply one who stuck to the highest Christian ideals, who would have nothing whatever to do with killing for the purpose of bettering the world, or making democracy safe, or what not. So some of the finest utterances of this terrible period have come from his pen. Well, in a sense, Clemenceau is right. The shrewd old man knows that if there were many men like Rolland, "statesmen" of his type could not last very long. As it is, Rolland is one of the noblest spirits of the day, as much American and British as French, and belonging as well to the defeated countries, for his countrymen are really all mankind.

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FROM a young lieutenant just released from his duties at an American cantonment the Drifter had this story. One evening after retreat the officer in question was standing with several others at the door of their quarters, when they saw a great commotion in the company street, and were approached by a noisy mob of enlisted men dragging with them two pale, ruffled, but unfrightened men in civilian clothing. The leader of the gang, a sergeant with the cold glare of self-righteous fury in his eyes, saluted and explained: "Sir, these men have just come in, and they say they are conscientious objectors. They won't do a thing. They won't drill, they won't salute, they won't cook, they won't even make their beds or help clean up the barracks. We're not going to have any such slackers in our company, and we have come to say that we refuse to spend the night in the same building with them." The narrator, being new to uniforms, was wholly at a loss to know what to say, as were all the other officers then present, except one captain from the regular army. His answer was as sharp and clean as a good sword. "Sergeant, do you realize what you are saying? You and the men with you have refused to do what you are required to do by the army regulations. These objectors are already provided for, and will be attended to. They at least have a legal status. You have only the status of a leader of mutiny. Go back to your quarters and let me hear no more from you." Words cannot describe, said the Drifter's informant, the silence which fell on the virtuous rebels, or the sheepishness with which they stole away, for perhaps the first time in their lives made suddenly aware that a virtuous intention is not always the precious thing it is said to be by village moralists. But alas, the young lieutenant added, there were very few captains with so much imagination or judgment.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Moral Objections to the Treaty

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your editorial "The Return," July 12, you say that Mr. Wilson's adversaries have made the fatal mistake of basing their opposition to the League of Nations on nationalistic instead of upon moral and ethical grounds. It appears to me that you have pointed out a great difficulty under which the opposition labors. Obviously the grounds of opposition vary and sometimes conflict. The fight, therefore, looks half-hearted, with a marked touch of political appeal and too small disposition to call a spade a spade. The consideration of the Shantung bargain has, however, provided common ground for the opposition. By degrees the iniquities of the peace treaty may come to be accepted as one of the unavoidable tests of the League itself, and it does not therefore seem so clear that the President will obtain the sanction which he desires.

There is little question that a league drafted in fulfillment of the early promises would have had the overwhelming support of the people and its representatives in Congress. The objections now advanced are urged against the particular League and its inherent commitments, which have been proclaimed by the Paris conference. We have never denied our obligation to aid in the maintenance of world peace. We do not fear or shirk our responsibility in that regard. Our part in the war disposes of that phase of the question. The opposition to this League goes to the responsibility which our country is asked to assume for the creation as well as the maintenance of terms and conditions imposed upon both enemies and friends. These are unacceptable to us because they are in flagrant violation of doctrines that we preached and of promises that we made. We are unwilling to underwrite for others what we could not honorably accept for ourselves. The difficulty is not that our citizens of varied ancestry may take umbrage. The dilemma is that our nation as a whole would stand committed to a falsehood.

The Fourteen Points are ours and not the President's, to interpret and do with as he pleases. They were announced in our name and by our consent, and they presented, however vaguely, essential ideals which we had in mind when we dared hope for a league of peace. Apart from that, those Fourteen Points constitute the basis of the armistice and of the promised peace terms. To deny or evade them is to avow ourselves guilty of a breach of faith in a most solemn international engagement. From this conclusion there is no escape. Neither phrase nor threat can save us. Nor can a little trimming—be it called amendment or reservation. The "scrap of paper" will be thrust in our face. Enemy nations we need not fear. Neutral Governments may not speak. But Allied Governments will chuckle, and the voice of peoples and their spokesmen who trusted us cannot be silenced. It has been argued that in 1918 the war was made upon a new issue, and that the Fourteen Points, not having been accepted by the Central Powers, were abandoned by us for a larger ideal of democracy and peace. We are not told when this change of heart was revealed to Congress. But if the truth of the contention were granted, it would still be impossible to detect in either the peace terms or the proposed League any suggestion of such ideals, or, indeed, anything short of a denial of our lofty promises. If it were true that a change of programme had been accepted or contemplated, why did we not say so and stand for it when the armistice was agreed to? We gave neither notice nor warning. On the contrary we directly and unequivocally bound ourselves to respect and to carry out the Fourteen Points. If their preservation rendered impossible the complete destruction of Prussianism, as has been contended, then we should have said so and should have accomplished our aim by continuing the fight, and not by resorting to a trick so common that it cannot be countenanced even as a war measure. By consenting to this denial of the sanctity of our promise, under

the pretence that we are serving a holy cause, we have done more than could have been accomplished in any other way to shake confidence in the word of a republic, and to fortify the claims and the hopes of reactionaries and imperialists. Our return to force marks their vindication. That the Fourteen Points are vital is not even disputed. The President insists that they are preserved in the peace terms and in the League. We are compelled to declare that we cannot find them, and hence our protest.

Most interesting and instructive is the contrast between the grounds of opposition to the League commonly assigned by us and the reasons for opposition to the treaty of peace given by such Englishmen as Macdonald, Morel, Ponsonby, Trevelyan, and others. We take nothing by the peace terms and we primarily object to the future burdens which the League imposes upon us, but we are slow to denounce the immorality of the bargains that have been made, or to protest against our part in confirming those bargains. Great Britain, on the other hand, takes a great deal by the peace treaty, and her imperialists rejoice at the prospect. Her liberals do not deplore their new burdens; they do, however, denounce the immorality of the terms that have been imposed upon enemy and allied countries, and they frankly declare that the peace treaty "constitutes an indefensible breach of that international morality whose vindication it was the declared aim of the Allies and Associated Governments to insure." These Englishmen do not falter. They strike at the root of the evil. As Americans we should do as much. For one, I am grateful that throughout this war my faith has never failed me that in due time Great Britain would furnish worthy successors to Burke and Pitt and Fox and Erskine and Bright.

Marion, Mass., July 23

CHARLES NAGEL

The Washington Riots

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: On Tuesday night, when so many in Ledroit Park feared a mob and a general massacre, and when most white men believed that a white woman who ventured into that section would be literally devoured, I took it into my head to go there, and go I did. I went for several reasons. One was to prove that a white woman could do it; another, because I knew what had been done by the authorities and thought that a little reassurance from a lone and harmless woman might go a good way, for I guessed the probable psychological state in that section. Besides, I wanted to know at first hand what the Negroes were doing and thinking. I found out. If I talked to one colored man, I talked to a hundred and fifty. Occasionally I would stop to speak to one I knew; oftener I would accost a group of unknown men and ask them for their views. Always and everywhere I met with courtesy and attention. As we talked, men would appear from the shadows—seemingly from the night itself—until there were perhaps twenty of us. Only once did I see a policeman, who glanced at us curiously, but said nothing and passed slowly on. And when we had finished our talk, the group would melt into nothingness and I would proceed on my quest.

I saw no women at all. And the men—why, those men were not out to "start something." They were armed, most of them, and were quite frank about it, but they did not want a fight. They said they were out to see if a mob were coming, and, if there were, they were going home to barricade themselves; then, if the mob tried to get in, there was trouble ahead. As one put it: "A man would be less than a man if he didn't fight for his family and his home." Their state of mind was not primarily fight. It was fear, a perfect hysteria of dread lest, as more than one expressed it, "a new East St. Louis" was at hand. And, as with all hysteria, a small occurrence would have set them off in a frenzy. Dynamite! They were TNT. Again and again I was asked: "Is a mob gathering on Pennsyl-

vania Avenue? Will they come up and burn us out? Is the Park cordoned?" For they did not dare go downtown far enough to see if the troops were really there. Over and over, I heard the pathetic question: "Do the white folks care? Does anyone care? Are they really doing anything?" I told them that the best of the whites did care, but that we were helpless. I told them also that measures had really been taken that afternoon and what they were—that there really was military, as well as police, protection. One queer old man remarked: "Well, I reckon somebuddy do care, or a white lady wouldn't come out to tell us about it." A one-handed soldier said: "I enlisted; I gave the country my hand, and I was ready to give more. When I was in France, I was a man and a soldier, but when I get back here, I'm not a citizen; I'm not a man, even—just a big, black brute." It was not said bitterly; it went deeper than bitterness. He spoke like a man with a broken heart. Another said: "They say this is to protect the white women. My father was in charge of a whole plantation and a family of white women during the Civil War. They weren't afraid to leave the white women with us then, and Negroes are no different now."

Many of them expressed a liking for, and confidence in, the captain of the precinct, and, when a man of one race speaks well of a man of another, during a race riot, that means something. But they spoke of the lack of colored police, and of the fact that Negroes were being dropped from the force and that none had been appointed since 1910. "You know," they said, "that we could talk better to colored police. They would reason with the people and not just knock them 'round. They know who the people are and what is going on, and they could stop a lot of trouble without arrests. But they don't want to give us a chance."

I saw but one noisy Negro, a half-witted and dishevelled-looking fellow, talking loudly and belligerently. Him two colored men seized and thoroughly shook, telling him that if he did not "shut up and get home," he would certainly find things happening to him. Once an excited Negro boy came flying on a bicycle with the news that a white mob had formed inside the cordon and was on its way. "Let's go meet them," said one young hothead. This was at once negated. "We'll watch and see if they are coming, and if they are, we will go home and lock the doors. That's what Captain Doyle said, and he knows what's what." So, for a few tense moments, we stood peering into the drizzly gloom, not knowing what might after all be about to come. But all was quiet, and we silently drifted on our ways.

And thus it went for two hours. I met them—not savages, not red-handed murderers, but citizens, hunted and terrified, looking more or less hopelessly to their Government for aid; human beings craving the hand of brotherhood, and cut to the very heart. I thought of Belgium. I remembered that my country stands abroad for liberty, justice, and the rights of men, though she has them not at home. How blind we are, we Anglo-Saxons, who talk of Freedom and have not yet freed our souls. But still I hope and dimly see a dawn—red, it is true, but still a far-off dawn.

A white man once said to me: "You talk like a Negro. You seem at times to identify yourself with them. Have you lost your race consciousness?" I replied: "I hope I think enough like them to show you how they feel. I hope I always lose race consciousness when it stands in the way of my consciousness of common humanity." Then he said a queer thing: "I do not know whether you are mad or inspired." I had been thinking of going to Serbia, but I believe my duty is here. I believe that our country needs all of us who are standing along the color line. I am ready to do anything possible, to whatever limit. If you, to whom I look as a leader in this situation, should ever need my services, you have but to speak. My soul is aflame, not with the glare of the destroying torch, but with the steady, incandescent glow which cannot be extinguished.

Washington, July 29

E. G. M.

Literature

China and the World

The International Relations of the Chinese Empire. By Hosea Ballou Morse, LL.D. Volume II. *The Period of Submission, 1861-1873.* Volume III. *The Period of Subjection, 1861-1908.* London: Longmans, Green & Co.

The Legal Obligations Arising Out of Treaty Relations Between China and Other States. By M. T. Z. Tyau, LL.D. Shanghai: The Commercial Press.

China's New Constitution and International Problems. By M. T. Z. Tyau, LL.D. Shanghai: The Commercial Press.

Foreign Financial Control in China. By T. W. Overlach. New York: The Macmillan Co.

THREE phases have marked the past hundred years of China's intercourse with Christendom: first, uncompromising opposition, which was broken down; then, passive obstruction, which was futile; then, surrender, which was ignominious. The story as a whole is pathetically like that of the chase and capture of some wild animal brought to bay and snared by hunters. Mr. Morse, whose "Period of Conflict" was reviewed in *The Nation* seven years ago, completes his comprehensive history of a century of intercourse by devoting a volume to each of the two latter phases, which he calls the "Period of Submission" and the "Period of Subjection." It is high praise to affirm that the performance of this work is as satisfactory as its plan and that in the conclusion of his task he maintains the admirable quality of its beginning. For the first time within the compass of a single work the student of modern China is able to observe the relation of results to impelling causes in the apparently sordid and fluctuating course of events during the nineteenth century. An empire whose greatness had become a tradition defends its isolation against the foremost naval power of the world; its defeat on the seaboard induces fuller intercourse, but is inconclusive and involves a renewal of the attack, this time by an alliance of naval powers; acknowledgment of equality is forced from a purblind Court, but again the lesson is unconvincing; China remains mediæval, ignorant of the economic forces that are projecting the commerce and control of Europe into every corner of the globe; her policy, which might have withstood this assault a hundred years ago, proves to be bootless before the devices of the West; her besotted and irresolute dynasty, which is alien to China, is shaken by internal revolts and discredited by fresh defeats; after a desperate and insane attempt to defy the world by assassinating all resident foreigners, it reaches the limit of abasement and is snuffed out by a revolution.

Thus outlined, the story presents material for a magnificent historical drama, and the author does not lack appreciation of this element in his subject. But it is the fashion of these days to deny to history its place among the arts and to insist upon its strict attention to the business of relating events and defining conditions. Mr. Morse wastes no ink in describing scenes, however picturesque, and he rarely even ventures an expression of personal opinion, though one indeed may be noted as indicating the views of an old "China Hand" on the prospect of political reforms through the instrumentality of the ballot as employed in the East. In estimating Yuan Shih-kai's guilt in deserting the Emperor in 1898 for the Empress-Dowager, he concludes as his best defence that "the latter was the upholder of official privilege as well as Manchu rights, and a conscientious official may well have decided to support her party rather than the Emperor's. It is by such methods as were now to be adopted that general elections are held in Asiatic countries." In other words we must not expect that democratic forms eliminate Tammany ideals in Asia. Do they anywhere, altogether?

From this record the reader is made to understand the central fact that this great empire, with its abundant resources and energetic people, has been brought close to ruin by its

Manchu rulers. During the whole Victorian epoch the country was sliding down hill, its administration corrupted, its morals debased, its inhabitants denied all opportunity of development by degenerate and diseased emperors allied with the mandarin, a close corporation of Chinese officials whose sole interest it was to preserve their iniquitous advantage. In the ordinary course of China's experience as a state isolated from the rest of the world, the incubus of a ruling house that had outlived its usefulness would have been removed by an uprising. The normal contingency for this was the Taiping rebellion, when the central and southern provinces withstood for a dozen years the utmost efforts of the autocrat in Peking to suppress a movement almost universal. But, unused as they were to the devastation and misery involved in the operation of cosmic forces in an Asiatic upheaval, the foreigners intervened to check the impending disruption. Their control of the situation, which was begun by their defeat of the imperial forces in 1842 and 1860, was fully established by their support in smashing the Taipings and by their means of enforcing their treaty terms. Thus the dynasty was insured its life on condition of fulfilling obligations it did not wholly comprehend and had no intention of keeping. A fresh crisis, which might have involved a conquest of China had actual conditions been understood abroad, was averted by the prostration of government resources, the benighted infatuation of the Court, and its realization of the anti-Manchu movement among the Chinese. So the Palace nursed its impotent rage against the foreigner, and profited by the beneficent action of the coöperative policy among Western envoys at Peking inspired by the foreigner himself, in the person of the American Anson Burlingame, who entertained hopes of a Chinese awakening. No awakening, however, could come through mere quietism. China's condition was not one of true slumber; it was a coma vigil, in which her officials had lurid dreams of the unknown and realized that an awakening would destroy the sources of their corrupt gains. Yet we can see now that it was better for mankind of the Victorian age to play in common for a resurgence of China than for each nation to contrive an individual success over her, as they began to do at the end of the century. A conquest of China by any European state would have left the world embroiled.

Though spared by the waiting policy of the foreigners from a new assault from abroad, China under the Manchus was riding for a fall. Her submission to the onerous terms of the treaties involved no effort to study and meet the difficulties with which she was encompassed; the Palace lived resentfully from hand to mouth, supported by graft, while the people resorted to revolts and occasional massacres of foreigners dwelling in remote places. The agency that under these burdensome conditions made for peace was the Customs Inspectorate, a system which, though disliked by the mandarin, eased the kind of friction that had brought on the Arrow War and insured the honest collection of tariff dues. In one sense the history of China's foreign intercourse for fifty years is written in the records of this famous organization as conducted by Sir Robert Hart. Mr. Morse's long experience in the service is in itself a qualification to become a historian of modern China, for it is difficult to see how any other preparation to this end could be attended with larger opportunities for investigation, with less bias, racial and political, or with wider comprehension of the administrative and economic problems of the country as a whole. The result in the two volumes before us is what ought justly to be expected, but is in fact rarely attained in the writing of contemporary annals—a recital faithful in dealing with facts and free from prejudice. His account of this cosmopolitan service will be recognized by those acquainted with Chinese affairs as the first orderly exposition of its place in the commercial and political history not only of the Far East, but of our own times. To those who do not know about the "Customs" it would be impossible to explain its manifold efficiency within the limits of a review; those who have heard it praised chiefly as the instrument by which Chinese were taught honest fiscal management will

learn here that it also constrained rampant foreigners and incurred the hostility of the consuls and colonial courts by insisting upon the enforcement of treaty law and by resisting the pretensions of the merchants, commercial, fiscal, and municipal. It may, of course, be said that the Government should have been required to do its own police work in exacting imperial rights. This was precisely what China was incapable of doing. So long as extraterritorial provisions in the treaties practically deprived her of power to compel full penalties for infractions by Europeans, the Customs Inspectorate was about as essential to the interests of foreigners as of natives.

The abasement of China after its punishment by Japan was realized first by the *literati*. Few of these were yet ready to adopt Western methods, but disasters made them appreciate the weakness of China and the need of some radical departure from the Manchu policy of apathy. This brought to the side of reformers such as Kang Yu-wei and Sun Yat-sen many of the official hierarchy, even those whose personal fortunes were threatened by projected improvements. Then came the foreign scramble for concessions and spheres of influence, and the effect of China's impotence was revealed to the commercial classes and common people. China had sunk so low by the end of the century that in the Boxer débâcle foreigners feared the embarrassments attending an untoward collapse and began to provide against it. This unconscionable tumult, which is admirably set forth in the author's concluding volume, does not impress him as the direct cause of the ejection of the discredited dynasty. "On the Chinese people," he declares, "its effect had been rather one of bewilderment in some provinces and of sullen rage in others." It was the outcome of Japan's war with Russia that finally electrified the nation. An Asiatic people had defeated a European power; this might be done again if China would follow Japan's wholesale adoption of Western ways. So the revolt began that after six years of secret preparation arrayed the nation against the decadent descendants of that Tartar clan which had undertaken its conquest three centuries before.

With the inglorious death of the protagonist the great drama is made to close. Republican China, the inheritor of the Manchu legacy of corruption and disorder, may turn ashes or may prosper; it has no part in the past except to exorcise the evil spirit of Manchu ineptitude. The story of China as a victim of that abominable genius is complete in these volumes, which deserve to be called the most important work on the Empire that has appeared in any language since the days of Williams and Richthofen. In comparison with it the level of other achievements in the same field seems to be lower, though this is no reason for prejudice in considering them. Some aspects of the new China confronted by this legacy of Manchu misrule are discussed in Dr. Tyau's two volumes on her "Legal Obligations arising out of Treaty Relations" and her "New Constitution and International Problems." The first of these, the author's doctoral thesis approved at the University of London, can be profitably examined with Mr. Morse's history as a background. China's humiliation is comprehended in successive compacts which are always imposed, never spontaneous agreements. The Tartars, who have so recently been dispossessed, were too narrow and jealous ever to receive or respect foreigners; the Republic that has displaced them still has to forego the rights seized from the Manchus in derogation of Chinese sovereignty. The crime of autocracy was greater here than in other empires which have fallen since 1917, for it has brought indignity as well as disaster to a great people and has created a cause of disturbance in the civilized world. Some of this may be mitigated, not as an act of charity, but as a measure of prudence. It is only necessary to read Dr. Tyau's monograph with its details of privileges enjoyed by aliens under the capitulations to endorse Sir Claude Macdonald's opinion that the immediate duty and interest of Western States is "to undo all that has been done to weaken her." China has, of course, much to do on her own part before Europeans can be safely committed to the

mercies of native magistrates or risk their loans to officials trained under Manchu traditions; but the change was effected in Japan under social conditions no better than they are at present in China, and Europeans have not suffered. There is encouragement in the author's confidence that after the experience of the world war some coöperative machinery will assume control over the inequalities as well as the inconsistencies of the past; the pious hope is one of many now uttered by peoples compelled to seek release from the trammels of old capitulations through the enlightened sense of nations which will in time come to recognize their own advantage in abolishing them. A true League of Nations will be justified in Asia, if by nothing else, at least by the preservation of peace and increase of profits among all concerned. Dr. Tyau's analysis of China's new constitution, now awaiting the tardy convening of Parliament to become a law, is the first careful description we have of a national charter which promises to be the basis of a reconstructed China. Experience under the Republic has demonstrated certain weaknesses in previous and provisional constitutions, notably in the organization of the cabinet and in the demarcation of powers between the central and provincial governments. The programme has now been perfected, the mandate to govern has been given by the people, but what halts the performance? Dr. Tyau's optimism is encouraging, yet some of China's best friends want an answer to this question. He adds to his discussion of the constitution three essays on Diplomatic Relations between China and the Powers during the War, on Problems of Extraterritoriality, and on Treaty Revision, all of value both for the information contained in them and for the striking contrast to be observed between China's present attitude toward foreign intercourse and that revealed under the Manchu régime in the pages of Mr. Morse.

Another vital aspect of this relation is disclosed in Mr. Overlach's "Foreign Financial Control in China," a volume that does not add greatly to our knowledge of the subject, but is likely to prove extremely convenient to the student of railways, loans, and politics in the Far East as a compendium of information. He devotes a chapter to the financial relations of each of the six Powers with China down to the year 1917, and in this categorical review it is easy to contrast the animus behind the various European states in their enterprises. It was one of predatory economic warfare *sans relâche*, so far as four out of the six nations were concerned, from which China was rescued by the great convulsion of 1914. His estimate of the stability of the new Republic is low, as seems to be the case with most business men acquainted with the East. He calls the revolution "by no means a revolution of the Chinese people or of Chinese institutions, but merely the accidental triumph of a body of politicians mainly due to the treason of Yuan Shih-kai." "The instincts and traditions of Asiatic races," he adds, "cannot be suddenly changed by drafting a constitution," nor is a sudden transformation desirable; "therefore the necessity of a mild and friendly form of international financial control." This is the opinion generally entertained by the bankers of the world, and it has to be reckoned with. China must endure for a time a condition of economic servitude to the capitalist nations if she is to be financed during her reconstruction, however galling the restriction to the hopeful and determined company of Young China, as represented by Dr. Tyau. When, on the other hand, the quickening influence of this company is able to prove to the civilized world that the Chinese have renounced forever the perfidy of the sinister Manchus, and, on the other, the great Powers are willing to abide in common by legal rights and obligations which must be generously interpreted to protect them, the problem of China may be solved. The works of the three authors before us constitute a notable contribution to the preliminary task of understanding the nature of this problem, determining the causes of China's present distress, identifying various interests, and reconciling certain points of view that seem to conflict mainly because of the complex character of the issue.

Vergil in England

Vergil and the English Poets. By Elizabeth Nitchie. New York: Columbia University Press.

MISS NITCHIE'S book is a faithful chronicle of the perverse interpretations, romantic distortions, superficial imitations, scholarly reconstructions, and sympathetic appreciations that Vergil has suffered at the hands of English writers. She is especially successful in her treatment of the concrete facts of quotation, allusion, translation, and imitation. Whatever Vergilian ore is to be found in the verbal detritus of later poets she has panned out, and with a wealth of parallel passages at her disposal has shown considerate restraint in selecting only the most significant. Enough illustration is given, however, to make clear the changing backgrounds of attitude toward Vergil that have affected the successive periods of English poetry. In the careful delineation of these current views lies the chief value of Miss Nitchie's study.

Foremost among adulterators of Vergil, from the modern point of view, were the men of the early Middle Ages. The fantastic attitudes they assumed in the attempt to reconcile him with the Church are well known through the work of Compagretti. They studied Vergil as a grammarian and rhetorician, invented folk-tales of his wizardry, hailed him as the pagan prophet of Christ, and piously veiled the "Aeneid" in a cloud of moral allegory. Only a few strong minds were downright enough to shun him as a dangerously seductive heathen; only the rarest souls knew him as a great poet. Among these last, as Miss Nitchie briefly notes, was Dante. Though he shared the contemporary foible for wringing cryptic meanings from Vergil's poems, he too was a child of Italy and partook of Vergil's patriotic fervor. But more deeply than this he understood the "Aeneid." He could write of Aeneas as the "just son of Anchises," while popular romance made of the hero a perjured knight. For him Vergil was the poet of the descent to Avernus rather than of Dido's funeral pyre. Yet the final word about Dante should reveal, as Miss Nitchie does not, the twelve centuries of Christendom across which Dante yearned toward his guide and master. Both were poets of destiny, but whereas destiny drove Aeneas to the Lavinian shore merely, it led Dante to eternal blessedness. And the real task of criticism is to determine the point at which Dante ceased to follow Vergil's footsteps.

The immediate successors of Dante relapsed into various forms of distortion. Petrarch preferred a moralistic view of Aeneas as a pattern of princeliness. Chaucer, externally faithful to his "auctour," read the "Aeneid" with a mind saturated with medieval romance, and, focusing his attention on the Dido episode, was fain to regard Aeneas as a wily traitor and Dido as a martyr to love. Boccaccio even revised the motives of Dido's suicide in order, like the apologists for Shelley, to exculpate the hero. A century later Caxton retained the new version in his "Eneydos." Not until the height of the Renaissance, after Vergil had been accurately translated by Gavin Douglas, do we find a poet who bid fair to become an English Vergil.

Spenser modeled his career on Vergil's, aspiring to be the new poet of England as Vergil had been the new poet of Rome. But between Vergil and Spenser stood Mantuan and Sannazaro in the eclogue, Ariosto and Tasso in the epic. Miss Nitchie rightly asserts the force of Italian example in shaping Spenser's practice. She does not indicate, however, that Spenser perceived no such difference between the Roman poet and the Italians as is apparent to us. As he appealed to the conscious allegory of the "Gerusalemme Liberata" to justify the allegory of the "Faerie Queene," he appealed also to the assumed allegory of the "Aeneid." And in taking it as his theme "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline," he imagined that he was following the example of "all the antique

poets historical," including Homer, Vergil, Ariosto, and Tasso. In this ethical intention lie the unity of his uncompleted poem and its kinship, through a strained interpretation similar to Petrarch's, with the "Aeneid." Spenser's ethics, however, were based on Ariostotle rather than on Vergil, and in illustrating them he is a true child of the Renaissance. Acrasia's bower of bliss inspired his finest effort. The *lachrymas rerum* were for him not the agony of weak flesh bearing the burden of divine destiny, but the pang of beauty vanishing like the summer flower.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century criticism had well in hand the principles of epic construction, and other poets besides Milton were applying them to Scriptural story. Miss Nitchie successfully defends her thesis that the "Aeneid" rather than the "Iliad" was the model for "Paradise Lost." But besides the resemblances which she points out are certain general features of emphasis and proportion that make Milton's poem closer in design to the "Aeneid" than any in English, and which yet indicate the vital divergence of Milton's mind from Vergil's. Milton's main theme is again destiny, exalted beyond the destiny of empire, or (as in the "Commedia") of the individual soul, to include the destiny of the human race. In the presence of this sense of divine purpose, the affair of the Garden of Eden, like the affair of Carthage, sinks into secondary importance. Milton, too, experiences difficulty in setting up an antagonist threatening enough to challenge insuperable power. His Satan, like Turnus, comes perilously near winning the sympathy of the unprepossessed. The toilsome wars of the angels match the long chronicle of phantom warriors, named only to be slain, in the "Aeneid." For Milton as a true Calvinist, however, God's will could not be doubtful or unsearchable in its ultimate intention. That sadness of life which was the profoundest thought of the gentle Pagan was the austere Puritan's major premise, a thing to be accepted and justified. In the process of justification, even the facts of sin and death assume the aspect of divine mercies. "Paradise Lost" adds to the "Aeneid" the fruit of sixteen centuries of full and varied religious experience.

After Milton the influence of Vergil upon English poets is a matter of externals, with which Miss Nitchie competently deals. The classical eclogue and epic, whose vogue began with the Renaissance, ran a course of increasingly sterile artificiality till they induced the burlesque pastorals of Gay and Swift and the mock-epics of Scarron, Cotton, and Pope. Serious writers of the eighteenth century were interested in fine thoughts rather than in great actions; consequently the *Georgics* best suited the temper of the age. They not only fostered such bucolic poetry as John Philips's "Cyder" and Thomson's "Seasons," but poured their influence into the main current of eighteenth century didactic poetry, which emptied at last into Wordsworth's "Excursion." During the Romantic reaction Vergil was neglected. The chief poets were Grecians; and even Landor, who had a good word for Vergil now and then, cavilled at certain fustian passages in Aeneas's speeches.

For this temporary estrangement, however, Tennyson more than atoned by his sympathetic understanding of Vergil. "No one," according to Miss Nitchie, "has penetrated so deeply into the Vergilian spirit, and no one has expressed it so fully as Tennyson in his poem 'To Virgil.'" Yet with due respect for the genuine critical sense of Tennyson's lines, one may still be skeptical whether Tennyson, as much as Dante or Milton or even Spenser, succeeded in preserving in his own work the spirit of the poet whom he so well loved. Beyond attempts to catch the ocean-roll of Latin rhythms and to echo the felicity of Vergilian phrases, Tennyson's poetry does not penetrate. Miss Nitchie does not even suggest a comparison of the "Aeneid" and the "Idylls of the King." In short, Tennyson's magnificent salute only too clearly marks the divergence between the comprehensive critical temper of his age and the creative spirit of great poetry.

Miniatures and Half Lengths

The Clintons and Others. By Archibald Marshall. Dodd, Mead and Company.

Far-away Stories. By William J. Locke. John Lane Company.

Luna Benamor. By Vicente Blasco Ibáñez. Translated by Isaac Goldberg. Boston: John W. Luce and Company.

Off Duty. A Dozen Yarns for Soldiers and Sailors. Compiled by Wilhelmina Harper. The Century Company.

PROFESSOR WILLIAM LYON PHELPS has recently written a whole volume in praise of Archibald Marshall. To praise Mr. Marshall is just, to praise him at length is something of a feat. For Mr. Marshall has not seen the world in any new way, unless a distinguished artist's complete and at times passionate contentment with the whole moral and social order loosely called Victorian may of itself have an element of novelty. The touch of passion and of militancy in that contentment comes, of course, from his awareness of the hostile influences that surround him. Such tales as "A Son of the Service" and "In That State of Life" were written, for all their apparent quietness, with a considerable inner heat against the several forces that tend to break the golden calm and bland superiority of the lives of English country-gentlemen of good birth and breeding. It remains true that, within his rather rigid limitations of mind and temper, Mr. Marshall is a distinguished artist. His short stories escape the two chief dangers of that kind—barren ingenuity and external effectiveness at any price. He cultivates that finer type of story which sums up a man and his whole fate in a few pages. "The Builder" and "The Bookkeeper" are noteworthy examples of an unobtrusive compression that gives to brevity the effect of fullness. Furthermore, he understands the purpose and technique of the novelette—a rare thing in English—and has produced a brilliant little work of that kind in "Audacious Ann." The virtues of his substance are largely pictorial. He can impress on the visual memory a man's picturesque and heroic attitude struck under the rich candlelight, before the silver and mahogany, the fruits and wine of the Prince Regent's table; he can leave with one the mellow interiors of English cottages and the bright faces of beautiful and wilful children. He gives the reader literary nourishment that is light without being frothy, wholesome without being common. To reach the soul or trouble the mind is plainly not his business. He is an ideal story-teller for those whose tastes and appreciations have developed beyond their emotional or reflective powers.

The short stories of Mr. William J. Locke are quite like his well-known novels. Mr. Locke set out long ago to be a man of feeling. He is determined to touch the innocent heart without disquieting it. His formula for attaining this worthy aim includes a dash of the exotic for color, a bit of pathos for tears, the happy union of brave lovers for content. The tone of his stories is one of thin simplicity and elderly boyishness. Whatever happens, Mr. Locke is sure to be debonair, to have a smile on his lips and an easy tear in his eye. In the present volume there is an Italian musician who sees his sentimental dreams realized through a pupil and dies of joy; elderly maiden ladies, whose lives flower briefly in their innocent love for a young Polish violinist wrecked on the Cornish coast; the gentle pathos of the blind who seek and generally win love; young lovers—the girl is a Russian princess—who elope by swimming out into the English Channel and are picked up (Mr. Locke's world is always so benign) just as their strength gives out. And in all the stories the trees in the parks are green and the sea and sky are blue. It is the enamelled summer earth, where there is neither rain, nor snow, nor trouble. So skilful is Mr. Locke in his relentless pursuit of the pretty that he can even, as in "An Old World Episode," turn tragic horror into pathetic sweetness. It goes without saying that when he attacks a moral problem, as in "The Scourge," it is to break the hardened heart and bring the sinner to the haven of a benevolent old age. In-

deed, Mr. Locke has so long given his unquestionably high talents to the undeviating pursuit of sweetness and softness that scrupulous criticism now need do no more than to say he still persists in his old habits.

The novelette and the six short stories in this volume of Vicente Blasco Ibáñez throw a further and final light on his literary origins. His dependence on the French masters of the naturalistic period is complete. His novels derive from Zola, his short stories from Maupassant. His imitation of the latter is extraordinarily close. He employs Maupassant's device of an anecdote told within the narrative frame-work; he copies closely and skilfully his master's verbal economy, ease and detachment of tone, cold selection of the revealing detail. He has Maupassant's touch of cruelty and his touch of grossness. The stories are derivative even in substance. One cannot quite—granting obvious differences—imagine "Compassion" without "Un Lache," or "Luxury" without "La Maison Tellier." The stories of country-life are strongly reminiscent of Maupassant's tales of the Norman peasantry. Only the Frenchman's small bureaucrats are lacking in Blasco Ibáñez. The interest that attaches to these facts arises, of course, from the remarkable vogue gained among us by a novelist who is merely an able workman in a school of narrative art that has never, in its really great and original examples, enjoyed any considerable popular favor in America. The novelette that gives its title to the volume is without doubt the most distinguished piece of writing by Blasco Ibáñez that has appeared in English. Here, at least, he had a vivid freshness of both scene and character. The reader will not easily forget Gibraltar as it is here described—a place of strange isolation, neither East nor West, full of color and stir and yet, in a deep sense, lifeless. The story concerns the love of a young Spanish diplomat for a Jewess. This love, naturally, comes to nothing; the action is without artifice; the diplomat simply drifts with the necessary current of his life, the girl with that of hers. But the small canvas is thronged with memorable types and faces against the sombre background of the fortress and the rock.

The dozen tales gathered in "Off Duty" will no doubt well fulfill the purpose for which they were compiled. To the thoughtful lover of letters they will afford, however, another and very curious interest. There is a story by Mr. Howells, not, frankly, of his best; there are two pleasant fairy-tales by Oscar Wilde and Seumas MacManus; there is an excellent bit of realism by Edna Ferber. The other stories all deal with the rude life of the far West or the Northwest. They are like each other and like the oldest story in the collection, Bret Harte's "The Outcasts of Poker Flat." Rex Beach and Hamlin Garland, Stewart Edward White, and even, in this example from his works, O. Henry tell over again—*mutatis mutandis*—the story of the famous outcasts. The point of each tale is the contrast between the rough hand and the childlike heart, a wild life and some tender instinct, coarse speech and a well of sentiment within. The gambler, the highwayman, and the gold-seeker—men who fear nothing and stop at nothing—become Sir Charles Grandisons in delicacy and courtesy at the sight of a woman. They are suddenly capable of every heroic instinct and every Christian virtue. Such an antithesis of swearing and sentiment, shooting and chivalry, seems to imply that murder, theft, and all crimes of physical violence will not corrupt a man's character provided his relations with women are exemplary. This volume, giving as it does a certain literary development from Bret Harte to yesterday's magazine story and screen scenario, illustrates in the most striking fashion a widespread American mood and attitude which it is not wholly satisfying to contemplate. The attitude, it may further be noted, our American audience sustains and demands only in regard to fiction of native authorship. The moral temper of the best contemporary British novelists is far enough from any such curious simplification of human conduct. Yet the works of these novelists sell widely in this country. An equally daring American gets a less liberal reception. The result is to keep much of our fiction within the limits of a special and limited view of life.

Books in Brief

THERE is occasion for heartening reflection on the improvement of political ethics in America during the last generation in a review of the career of Chase S. Osborn, Governor of Michigan from 1911 to 1913. Mr. Osborn has just published the story of his life in a book which he calls "The Iron Hunter" (Macmillan) because the quest for new deposits of iron has been the absorbing passion of his life; but more people are likely to be interested in the account of his public activities than in his frequently technical discussions of siderite and hematite ores. Possessed of an irregular education, but inured to hardship by a pioneering life in Indiana, he was carried by the spirit of adventure to the borders of outlawry in the mining districts of Wisconsin. There, as a young man of twenty-three, he edited a newspaper and conducted a fearless campaign against organized vice and entrenched lawlessness. Removing to the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, he came into contact with the corrupt and venal politicians who controlled the State. He relates with remorse how blithely he took part in the open bidding for the votes of twelve drunken Indians during a close election. But nature had made Mr. Osborn a thoroughly honest man. He had only to become aware that the prevailing practices were wrong in order to detest them and to apply his abundant energy to their extirpation. Hereafter we find him identified with those who carried on the battle for higher ideals of citizenship and duty to the public. He helped Pingree in his fight against the machine, and as Commissioner of Railroads he established some precedents by his incorruptible zeal for the interests of the people. But when he entered the race for the governorship he found that the golden age had not yet arrived and that without the independence assured by a substantial fortune he would find it hard to overcome the influence of the machine. It was to gain this independence that he seriously applied himself to the study of iron, and he soon qualified himself as an expert. His scientific knowledge of ores, his skill in woodcraft, and his love for exploring the bleak northern wilderness met with their due reward when he discovered the valuable Moose Mountain Iron Range in Canada. Returning to public life as a Regent of the University of Michigan, Mr. Osborn gave proof of the wisdom he had been acquiring by taking a stand in favor of unrestricted academic freedom. As Governor of Michigan he distinguished himself by his attacks on the liquor interests and by the thorough reform of all branches of the State administration, placing them on such a level of honesty and efficiency that his Democratic successor could only promise to follow in his footsteps. Mr. Osborn's career altogether gives the impression of one who enjoys the sensation of living at a high pitch, but who, with his ever-expanding opportunities, developed the moral control to direct his great powers for the benefit of his fellow-men. His own formula for success is "applied energy and poised growth."

THE argument from historical analogy, however unsafe from the scientific point of view, has from time immemorial given aid and comfort to reformers. Advocates of the League of Nations now emphasize those experiences of the past which seem to warrant hopes for a better world order in the future and direct attention to organizations which resemble those that they champion. Dr. James Brown Scott sees in the American Union an analogue of a league of nations. In a suggestive little volume, "James Madison's Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 and Their Relation to a More Perfect Society of Nations" (Oxford University Press), he views the convention that framed our Constitution as "in fact as well as in form an international conference," the instrument which it drafted as "an international document," and our federal union as "the one large, successful, and enduring union of States to be found in the annals of history." The international aspects of our federation—the interstate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, for ex-

ample—have been overlooked, according to Dr. Scott, "because of the tendency to regard the United States as a unitary nation, instead of a union of States." The word "nation," he reminds us, is not to be found in the Constitution, and the preamble, of which Webster made such effective use in his argument for national sovereignty, he describes as "a flourish of rhetoric due to a facile pen." The Union was created by the people of the States "acting as citizens of the States and within State lines," and not by the people generally, "compounded as one mass." The student of American history will be impressed with the similarity between this historical interpretation of the origin of the American Union and that with which Calhoun buttressed his argument for state sovereignty.

THE familiar essay in these stressful days has fallen somewhat out of fashion. We have been in no mood for whim or vagary, and the personal, intimate writer has commonly kept for his own small circle such charming random talk as Mr. Charles S. Brooks now gives us in the attractive volume "Chimney-Pot Papers" (Yale University Press). The essays deal discursively with mellow subjects like "Boots for Runaways," "On Going to a Party," "On Livelihoods," "On Turning into Forty," and they testify to the author's faith that even in stirring times it is well to invite the leisurely spirit. Although Lamb and Stevenson are Mr. Brooks's ancestors, the race shows signs of attenuation and the charm has become a little obvious and thin. Still, such essays as "The Quest of the Lost Digamma" and "Spending a Holiday" are very fresh and happy, and at his best, as perhaps where he reports some easy conversation, his geniality quite sets the page aglow. Too often, however, the idea is twisted past recognition, the figure is elaborated for its own sake, the archaism is too conscious, the briskness too competent and efficient. His charm is more peripheral than central. It is more a matter of studied phrase than of point of view. The illustrations are curiously at odds with the text; not that they do not relate themselves quite carefully to its matter, nor that they have not fancy of a sort, but it is a heavy fancy, while Mr. Brooks's is light.

NOT the call of the wild, but the call of the crowded and noisy street, particularly the London street, exerts its compelling power on Mr. Thomas Burke, enthusiastic chronicler of the sights and sounds (and smells) of England's metropolis. Ochlophobia is the last ailment that will claim him for a victim, as any reader of his "Out and About London" (Holt) will unhesitatingly affirm. Even the chastened London of war times has, if not exactly its dizzy delights, at least its unflinching alleviations for this inveterate stroller. With Elian humor and a ready vocabulary, racily enriched with American colloquialisms, he pictures the attractions of his favorite haunts and his chosen pastimes in the big and bustling city he knows so well. A few of its human oddities, its freakish characters in the humbler walks of metropolitan life, are made to live for us in his pages. An American baseball game is admiringly described, and he pays tribute to the American college yell as he heard its ear-splitting notes awake the echoes of Kensington Gardens. As he understands it, "the essential of a good college yell is that it be utterly meaningless, barbaric, and larynx-racking. It should seem to be the work of some philologist who had suddenly gone mad under the strain of his studies and had attempted to converse with an aborigine."

TWO new publishing firms have been organized and will announce their first lists in September. Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1 West 47th Street, has for its officers Mr. Alfred Harcourt and Mr. Donald C. Brace, formerly of Henry Holt and Company, and Mr. Will D. Howe, until recently Professor of English in Indiana University. The partners of Scott & Seltzer, Inc., 5 West 50th Street, are Mr. Temple Scott, editor of the best edition of Swift, and Mr. Thomas Seltzer, formerly with Boni & Liveright.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

Fedden, Romilly. *Golden Days*. Houghton Mifflin. \$2.50.
Symons, Arthur. *Studies in the Elizabethan Drama*. Dutton. \$3.50.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Wrong, George M., Langton, H. H., Wallace, W. Stewart. *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada. Publications of the Year 1917-1918*. University of Toronto Press. \$1.50.

POETRY AND DRAMA

Bowen, Margaret Barber. *Singing Places*. Boston: Cornhill Company. \$1.25.
Dowson, Ernest. *Poems and Prose of Ernest Dowson*. Boni & Liveright. 70 cents.

FICTION

Aikman, Henry G. *The Groper*. Boni & Liveright. \$1.60.
Atherton, Gertrude. *Rezanov*. Boni & Liveright. 70 cents.
Carter, Jefferson (editor). *Madam Constantia*. Longmans, Green. 80 cents.
Coolidge, Dane. *Silver and Gold*. Dutton. \$1.75.
Goodman, Daniel Carson. *The Taker*. Boni & Liveright. \$1.75.
Maugham, W. Somerset. *The Moon and Sixpence*. Doran. \$1.50.
Pallen, Conde B. *Crucible Island*. New York: Manhattanville Press.

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TWO SECTIONS—SECTION II OF THE NATION—SATURDAY, AUG. 9, 1919

NO. 2823

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The Bolsheviks Versus the Social Revolutionists

By B. GINZBURG

AMONG foreign readers generally the opinion seems to prevail that the Bolshevik or Communist Party of Russia is the most extreme and irreconcilable of all the political factions in the entire country. This error arises probably from the confusion of the terms Bolshevik and Maximalist. The Bolshevik Party grew out of the majority faction of the Social Democratic Conference of 1903, which has adopted and lived up to a more radical policy than that professed by the minority or Menshevik wing. The term Maximalism was never applied to the Social Democrats, but to the extremists of the Social Revolutionary Party, the party which in the days of the old régime championed terror and assassination as a political weapon.

The difference between the Social Revolutionists and the Bolsheviks lies in their political followings. The Bolshevik or Communist Party has its greatest strength in the cities, among the industrial proletariat, and in the country districts among the poorer peasants. The Social Revolutionary Party before the Revolution obtained its adherents from the better classes of peasants. The scheme of government which they evolved conceived of Russia as a loosely organized, somewhat anarchistic chain of societies and communities. Socialization was to be brought about through ownership of the means of production by associations of workers independent of one another and acting separately. Opposed to that is the platform and practice of the Communist Party, which calls for nationalized industry (under joint control of local committees and state experts) with the increase of production through centralization, and the weeding out of inefficient local factories.

So much for the difference in theory between the two parties. In practice, in the attempt to realize their aims, the Social Revolutionary Party broke in two. The Left Social Revolutionists wanted to realize their programme at once, and were willing to coöperate with the Bolshevik Party in the immediate seizure of the national power by the working and peasant classes. The Right Social Revolutionists would not coöperate, and the November Revolution

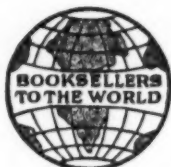
was carried through by the combined strength of the Bolsheviks and the Left Social Revolutionists.

In the twenty months that have followed the November Revolution, there has been only one point of contact among all three parties and factions; that is, the opposition to intervention of foreign armies. The Cadets, the Octobrists, and the Monarchists, sought the aid of foreign troops in order to regain the privileges they had lost, and did not discriminate between German and Allied armies. Whichever side was nearest to the scene and could help them, was welcome. In the Ukraine it was the Germans who were called in; in Siberia the Japanese; in North Russia the English and the French, and later the Americans.

The Social Revolutionists who coöperated with the Bolsheviks from November, 1917, to July, 1918, were always more bitter against the foreigners than the Bolsheviks themselves. Not only have they been opposed to intervention, but they have refused to make any peace with an imperialistic foe. At Brest-Litovsk, when the Bolsheviks yielded to practical necessity and made a temporary peace with the German militarists whom they have since helped to overthrow, the Social Revolutionists of the Left wished to organize a guerrilla warfare. They threw the bombs which assassinated the German Ambassador and the German military leaders in the Ukraine, and in Siberia they have kept up a terroristic warfare against the Japanese.

Charged with the organization of an orderly government, the Bolsheviks have refused to adopt guerrilla tactics. They preferred to make a humiliating peace with Germany, in order to have a breathing space in which to organize an efficient Red Army. When the Bolsheviks last fall offered to accept responsibility for the debts of the Czar, and to pay them with concessions—the debts which were incurred in suppressing revolutions and hiring Cossacks to whip workmen—the Social Revolutionists of the Left at their December congress, spoke out violently in opposition. Passages from their resolutions follow:

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of all countries; union with the countries which have overthrown their old governments and given over the power into the hands of organizations of workers and peasants, and in particular with those among them who can exchange merchandise with us, and who can send us raw materials, without which the Russian Revolution cannot endure.

The Party of Social Revolutionists of the Left regards as inadmissible any manner of concessions to foreign capitalists for the exploitation of our natural riches, and it will fight with all its strength against the granting of such concessions.

Even more illuminating is the light on Social Revolutionary policy shed by the second trial of Maria Spiridovna. The woman leader of the Social Revolutionists of the Left was charged with having attacked the note of Foreign Commissar Chicherin to the Allies as a "base betrayal of the Russian workers. . . . comparable to the betrayal of Brest-Litovsk." For this she was not sentenced to be shot, as the newspaper executioners of Stockholm would have it, but (owing to the evidences of pathological hysteria exhibited in the courtroom) to a year in a sanatorium, where she might recuperate her strength "through healthy physical and mental work."

In the meantime the Social Revolutionary Party of the Right attempted to coöperate with the bourgeois parties in Siberia, who had called in foreign troops to overthrow the Revolution. A number of Social Revolutionary leaders, who had been previously elected to the Constituent Assembly, joined the ill-starred All-Russian Government at Ufa. Avksentiev, who had been Minister of the Interior under Kerensky, Chernov, Zenzinov, and Rogovsky, attempted to repeat the Kerensky experiment of "extending the Revolution" gradually with the coöperation of the bourgeois parties. Chernov had actually worked out a plan of radical agrarian reform, when the powers behind the Siberian Government forced him out. In November came the Kolchak coup, when the reactionary parties, fearing that the Revolution was being extended in the Bolshevik direction, threw off the mask and made Kolchak Supreme Dictator and despot. Avksentiev, Zenzinov, and Rogovsky were shipped off to the Chinese wilderness, and thereafter began the most diligent efforts toward restoration of the old régime in Siberia.

In Soviet Russia, the Social Revolutionists of the Right have recently had their press legalized. They are still opposed to the Bolsheviks, both in theory and in practice. Unlike the Left Social Revolutionists, they prefer the Constituent Assembly to the Soviet as the means of realizing the new order. According to the opinion of foreign anti-Bolshevik observers, the Bolsheviks could, if they desired, secure a majority in a Constituent Assembly; but Lenin prefers the Soviet system as a more perfected method of realizing Communistic policies. By means of the Soviet system, particularly through the Soviet of National Economy, which sends out experts to superintend the local factories, the natural disorganization resulting from the Revolution has been checked, the inefficient plants dismantled, and production has been increased until it is already approaching normal. When we consider that the blockade has shut off all raw materials, lubricants and machinery, the Soviet achievement is commendable. It would not have been possible to keep production at the present figure with the loose, semi-anarchistic system advocated by the Social Revolutionists. And they could not have fared better with the blockade, for they are more intransigent towards foreign capitalists.

Japan in China and Siberia

By J. INGRAM BRYAN

THE future of Japan in China and Siberia is now an absorbing topic of public opinion in East Asia. The European Peace Conference having acquiesced in Japan's claims to German rights in Shantung, and Japan being already in control of Kwantung and South Manchuria, all China, and more especially young China, is indignant and up in arms, not only against Japan, but against the western Powers to whom she owes her preëminence in China; yet with little hope of improving the situation. Moreover, Japanese troops are practically in control of Siberia, with Mongolia as well falling into line through the combined influence of Japan and the Cossacks under Semenov. Thus is created a particularly intricate and interesting situation, sooner or later to demand a solution.

If the present carefully organized system of boycott and aversion to Japan continues, Japan will consider that she has good reason for intervention, especially if the life and property of her nationals in that country remain endangered. Her so-called China *ronin* have long been awaiting just such an opportunity for the consummation of their plans, doing all in their power to keep up the agitation between north and south, as well as to exasperate public opinion in China. Already Japan is on the alert, with her warships moving in Chinese waters and estuaries, prepared to land troops on any emergency. And China is so wrought up over Japan's aggressive attitude in Kiaochow, and at foreign indifference to China's pleadings, that the anti-foreign agitation is growing and soon may become acute; threatening a situation not less sinister than the Boxer uprising of some years ago, when the united armies of the Powers had to interfere. Should there arise a repetition of the Boxer trouble, Japan is the only country in a position to throw into China sufficient forces to protect the lives of foreigners in China and to restore order. Not only so, but the Monroe Doctrine for East Asia, which has attained a status of practical possibility during the war, on account of Japan's unaided patrol of Far Eastern land and water, is now dependent on Japan for support and enforcement in her policy of preserving the integrity and peace of the Far East; and she would not welcome the presence of western armed forces to coöperate with her in the pacification of China, any more than America would welcome Japanese forces in the effort to restore order in Mexico. Indeed Japan is not too well pleased to have western nations taking a hand in the reëstablishment of stable government in Siberia. All Japan is convinced, however, that the task of suppressing Bolshevism in East Russia could much better have been entrusted to Japan alone. To have such assistance in the policing of China is quite another matter, for China is now as much a ward of Japan as Mexico is a ward of the United States. Were Japan obliged to send forces into China, in addition to those she has already there, who is to appoint a date for their withdrawal? There would then be even less hope than there is now of setting up a stable government.

Japan's policy in China is no longer vaguely defined as one of maintaining the peace of the Far East. What Japan is determined upon is to see that no third power gains any further concessions in China. Japan holds that China's independence of western nations is absolutely essential to the

security of both Japan and China. Therefore China must by all means be restrained from falling under the financial, commercial, industrial or political dominance of western powers. Were China to become helplessly indebted to Occidental nations it would lead to their establishment of rights that would eventually menace the defences of Japan. In fact, Japan views the presence of western powers in China much the same as the United States would regard the intrusion of European powers in Mexico or South America; or as Britain would the appearance of a strange power on the coasts of France or Belgium. To Japan such a possibility is to be precluded at all hazards. That honor or privilege Japan most jealously reserves to herself, until such time as China is wholly free from foreign interference. Thus Japan is to be the guardian of the Monroe Doctrine for East Asia as fully as America is its guarantor in the West. This office Japan could not freely or properly fulfill were any third power allowed to supplant her in China. Japan is all the more determined to fulfill her mission in this respect now that she believes certain foreign nations are opposed to such a policy, and that foreigners in China are evincing a strong anti-Japanese attitude. Recently a meeting of leading British and American residents of Peking passed a resolution deploring the acquiescence of western powers in Japan's claims to Shantung; an incident greatly resented in Japan.

Japan's occupation of the district of Kiaochow and her virtual control of the province of Shantung in which that district is situated, with Tsingtau as the capital, is simply for the purpose of enforcing the Monroe Doctrine in East Asia. She is there to prevent any third power becoming established there. Japan insists on holding Shantung for the present because China once allowed a foreign power to occupy it, and what once happened could and might happen again. China pretends not to understand the situation and demands that Japan shall forthwith return the territory to her; but what guarantee has Japan that China will not again suffer it to pass into the hands of a third power and compel Japan to retake it as she did Port Arthur and South Manchuria from Russia? To Japan it is in every way more desirable that she should hold Tsingtau now than run the risk of having to molest another power attempting its occupation. Thus, avowedly at least, Japan is in Kiaochow for the same reason that she is in Manchuria, Kwantung and Korea: to form a barrier against all menace to the independence of China; not to close the "open door" commercially, but to leave no open door territorially and politically. China naturally resents this paternalism; nor is Japan at all surprised at it. China also resents British anxiety as to the boundaries of Tibet and the present negotiations concerning Szechuan, Kansu and Shinkiang; but it cannot be helped. Nations that are unable to take care of their interests, to the endangering of the interests of others, have to be helped into line, even by undue pressure when necessary. A man cannot afford to allow his neighbor to indulge in either activity or inactivity that proves menacing to his safety. China and Japan must stand or fall together; their destinies are unalterably united. This is Japan's political creed, well founded or not.

The logical conclusion of Japan's policy is that so long as western powers insist on exploiting China, Japan will be compelled to remain in China, and to keep a sharp eye on their movements and ambitions, checking all attempts at further concessions. If foreign nations honestly want Japan

out of China they must set her the example by departing first. Japan considers it perfectly absurd for China to make a fuss about Japan's presence in Kiaochow, or in other provinces of China, so long as China permits any western power to occupy any portion of her territory. Japan is in China until such time as western nations are ready to withdraw. And if western nations insist on menacing China, as in Japan's eyes they are constantly doing, and if they succeed in finally partitioning the country, Japan will see to it that she has control of the Pacific provinces, with no possibility of any western power finding a base on her Far Eastern littoral.

The nature of Japan's policy in Siberia will be obvious to anyone familiar with her ambitions in China. For the last twenty years or more Japan's main objective in national defence has been Russia. The long-anticipated conflict with the northern Power occurred in 1904-5 to the discomfiture of Russia, but every Japanese believed that Russia would return to the charge and redeem her humiliation. A Russian Ambassador to Tokyo once assured the writer that the Japanese were right in this apprehension. Consequently Japan established herself strongly in Korea, Kwantung and Manchuria, so as to be prepared for any emergency. She preferred to meet the enemy on the continent rather than in her island home, as Britain did in France and Belgium. All Japan's naval and military defences have been calculated with this objective during the past ten years. Now that Russia is practically eliminated, the danger lies in some third party establishing itself in Siberia. The destiny of Siberia is a matter of supreme importance to Japan. Prospects of establishing settled government in Siberia remain uncertain. Until the situation is adjusted, Japan is bound to remain in control. So long as western nations kept out, Japan did not move; she was content to await developments, with her forces in Manchuria on the alert. But the moment the Allies consented to intervention Japan assumed the lead and threw the largest forces into the territory. America proposed that the Allied troops should number 7,200 for each nation; but Japan ignored this and dispatched 72,000, eventually increased to 150,000 on the excuse that it was necessary to defend the Manchurian frontiers. Japan sought and obtained supreme command of the Allied expedition. She practically entered into occupation of the country, blockading its waters, policing its roads and subjecting all officials to military scrutiny. In this way Japan ensured the intrusion of no third party, for the troops of the other Allies were but few in number compared with the supreme army of occupation. Most of the Americans remained at or near Vladivostock, while the few British troops pushed on to the Urals; and the Canadians, finding nothing to do, decided no longer to waste their country's time and money, and returned home.

To facilitate the effectiveness of her policy, Japan entered into relations with two notorious Cossack chiefs, Semenov and Kalmykov, whose depredations had been terrorizing the districts where they had operated. This aroused the suspicions of the Allies, and investigations were ordered; but Japan carefully guarded her collaborators from undue scrutiny. Owing to protests from America, the Japanese troops were reduced, some 35,000 being sent home, and later 50,000; and though it is said that 100,000 Japanese troops are still in Siberia, the real figures are unknown to the public. The Americans have managed to bring the Trans-Siberian railway under Allied control, but foreign interference with Siberian railways has aroused a great deal of

apprehension and opposition in Japan. Those who hold the railways hold the country; a lesson well learned by Japan's possession of the South Manchurian Railway and the German lines in Shantung. America's policy in Siberia has created a great deal of agitation in Japan, where it is strongly suspected that America is trying to blast Japan's plans in Siberia as well as in China. Japan's aim, however, is only what it is in China: to prevent any third party from obtaining the upper hand. She is convinced that she can no more safely occupy a third place or a second place in Siberia than she can in China. This policy is essential to the upholding of the Monroe Doctrine for East Asia.

Thus Japan, no less than the world, awaits the outcome in China and Siberia with unabated interest. In both cases the future must rest largely with the capacity of both China and Russia for self-determination. The outlook so far is none too hopeful. In either case absence of general education, and consequent age-long ignorance, combine to defeat the hopes of the most optimistic, leaving the masses of the East Asiatic continent a prey to superior craft and power. Japan is ostensibly the protector of both China and East Russia. She believes that these countries are too big to solve their difficulties without her assistance. If these unfortunate countries cannot subjugate themselves Japan will assume the task rather than let it pass to any third party. And if any one is prone to scent suspicion in this policy, Japan sees no more occasion for it than Americans see in the paternal interest of their Government in Mexico, or the British see in the like interest of their country in Egypt. Japan can detect nothing sinister in her policy and fails to understand why western nations should entertain such apprehensions.

China and the Shantung Settlement

CHINESE students have recently organized and carried to a successful conclusion a series of popular demonstrations against the Shantung settlement, which have resulted in the removal of three high Government officials accused of having betrayed their country into the hands of Japan. The following article, embodying the students' point of view, appeared in *The China Press* for June 10:

For the first time in the history of China a genuine democratic movement has appeared. The entire Chinese people has risen. No officials head this movement. No great men have attached their names to this cause. Spontaneously out of the schools, among boys and girls, among shopkeepers and merchants, among laborers and coolies, has arisen this historic defence of the rights of China, this demand for good government.

On the anniversary of the Twenty-one Demands, when the Chinese people were in mourning because of the shame their country had suffered at the hands of Japan, news arrived that China had been defeated at the Paris Peace Conference. For months previous to this day, since the signing of the armistice, China had high hopes that she would have an opportunity to develop as a nation; that the wrongs which she had suffered from militarism while the nations of the world were fighting militarism in Europe would be righted. But now China was hopeless. In Peking was a government corrupt to the core. In one year it had borrowed \$220,000,000 from Japan, ceding to her the richest resources of the land. Coal mines, iron mines, forests, future railroad rights, control of the army, control of finances, control of the few great industries of the country, have been thrown away for a mess of pottage. Great China, the

land richest in resources, richest in man-power, richest in territory, had become a plaything because of the militarism of Japan and the corruption of her own officials.

The Manchus were driven out by a small band of intrepid revolutionists in league with enlightened officials. But the Chinese people took no part in the first revolution. The monarchist movement of Yuan Shih-k'ai was killed by Peking officialdom. But the people of China were silent. Chang Hsun's attempted restoration of the Manchus was squelched by the very officials who are betraying their country today. But the people took no interest.

Since then a great war has been fought in Europe. On the fields of France and Belgium the fairest sons of the great nations of the west had given their lives that democracy and justice might exist upon the earth. Throughout the world like the voice of a prophet has gone the word of Woodrow Wilson, strengthening the weak and giving courage to the struggling. And the Chinese people have listened and they too have heard. They have been told that their four-thousand-year-old doctrine that peace is the greatest of all aims of a nation has become the slogan of mankind. They have been told that in the dispensation which is to be made after the war unmilitaristic nations like China would have an opportunity to develop their culture, their industry, their civilization, unhampered. They have been told that secret covenants and forced agreements would not be recognized. They looked for the dawn of this new millennium, but no sun rose for China.

The masses of the people looked toward Peking. There they found only corruption and treason. They looked toward Paris. There they found that a compromise had to be made because of the injection of the question of Fiume and of racial discrimination. There was no hope there. They looked toward their own enlightened young men who had studied abroad. They found that they were inadequately prepared to offer a practical plan to save the country. The merchants lacked initiative; they were looking for a leader. And the leadership came from school boys and school girls who were ready to sacrifice their future careers, liberty and life that China might continue to exist. The students of China refused to study, refused to participate in the usual affairs of life until China was free. They clogged the machinery of the nation. They brought the issue to a head. They demanded immediate restitution of the rights of China and the immediate democratization of the government. These students were Chinese trained. They had never, most of them, left the country. They had not forgotten the nation in the glamor of foreign travel. Their cry was, "sell us, sell everything we have or may at any time have, but let the nation live."

Students of Shanghai spontaneously gathered in the Public Recreation Ground, West Gate, on May 7. There was no pre-arranged programme; but before the meeting had proceeded very far it was clear that the students demanded the dismissal of the corrupt officials, the return of Tsingtau to China, or effective guarantees by the Allied Nations that Japan would make such a return within a reasonable time, and that the Twenty-one Demands and other secret treaties written between the Peking militarists and the Japanese militarists would be renounced.

Immediately the Shanghai Students' Union was organized. It consists of eighty-three schools in Shanghai and represents 20,000 students, including about 5,000 girls. Similar action was taken in Peking, Tientsin, Nanking, Hankow, Canton, Hangchow, Soochow, Ningpo, and other cities in China.

The Peking organization became particularly effective. The Peking Government University has during the past year, under the guidance of the Chancellor, Tsai Yuen-pei, and other enlightened professors, become the intellectual centre of China. The democratization of the Chinese language, the development of a modern Chinese literature, the growth of political discussion, centred about the Peking Government University. It was therefore only natural that the students of this University should refuse to be associated with a government of treason. The students of the Peking Government University were the first to strike for Chinese freedom. Mandarin-like, the Government

looked upon this as a schoolboy prank. They threatened. They cajoled. They intimidated. They attempted to bribe. But the students would not return to their desks as long as Tsao Ju-lin, Chang Chung-hsiang, Little Hsu, and the other traitors remained in power. Came a day when the students marched to the house of Tsao Ju-lin. They wanted to tell him that he ought to resign. Who should be in his house but the arch-traitor, China's Minister to Japan? And in their company was a Japanese. And on Tsao's wall was a portrait of the Mikado. The minds of the students were inflamed. What new rascality was being hatched? What concession was being bargained away? What mine, what forest, what railroad was Japan stealing at that moment? The result is well known. Tsao Ju-lin ran away. Chang Chung-hsiang was beaten almost to death.

But much more important was the fact that this demonstration awakened the entire student body of China to the fact that immediate action was necessary. In every city of China the students left their books and went out on strike.

What is it that they demand?

1. First and foremost, if China is ever to rise out of her present shameful condition, every one of her sons must be taught that treason to his country is man's greatest crime. Chinese officialdom has grown up under the old Mandarin system, in which corruption was not only tolerated, but expected. The officials were poorly paid, and they were to earn enormous incomes by robbing the country. Under the Manchus this system could prevail; in a republic it has no place. The Peking officials have not only sold the wealth of the country, but they have betrayed her integrity. The worst enemies of China are not in Tokio, but in Peking. Not only to avenge the wrongs that China has suffered must the traitors go, but to prevent the recurrence of treason, to inspire future generations, to set an example for the very boys and girls, the future fathers and mothers of China, who are now on strike, must they be driven out. The fate of the nation depends upon it, and with this principle there can be no compromise.

2. China demands that effective guarantees be secured from the Allied Governments that Tsingtau and the German rights in Shantung be returned to her immediately. Tsingtau was stolen from China by Germany. When China entered the war it was understood that this territory would be returned to her. When Japan prevented China from joining the Allies, and captured Tsingtau, she promised the Government of the United States that she would return the territory to China. The Peace Congress has maintained the principle that territories forcefully seized and unjustly held shall be returned to the nation whose people inhabit them.

The foreigners will say, "But Japan intends to return this territory." China has suffered too long from Japan's intentions. China cannot accept a promise from Japan, for it is like a whisper in the wind. China has been betrayed too often by her island neighbor to accept her covenant. She is a nation whose word is bankrupt. One need only think of Korea, of Formosa, of Manchuria, of Mongolia, and of Siberia, to realize the uselessness of a Japanese promise. Japan will never fully, truly, and completely return Tsingtau unless she is forced to do it by the nations of Western Europe. It is to avoid the bloodshed that might be entailed in this use of force that the students want effective guarantees made now that Japan will not be permitted to deceive China in this matter.

3. The students demand that the Twenty-one Demands shall be cancelled. They were agreed to by China under duress. When the nations of the western world were at war, Japan sneaked in like a thief in the night and demanded that China give up her sovereign rights. An ultimatum of war was made. What could China have done at that time but agree to Japan's proposal, made at the point of a bayonet? But these demands cannot be acceded to. China can never agree to the Twenty-one Demands. Until every one of them has been cancelled, China will always be in a state of turmoil.

4. The students demand that freedom of speech and of the

press shall be preserved as an inalienable right of citizens of the Republic. To secure this right the students desire that the Constitution of China shall be completed, and this right included.

To secure these rights the students have adopted the principle of passive resistance. They are unable to fight against the Peking militarists, and enough blood has already been spilled in China. There is no ballot in this country. The only thing that could be done was to strike, peacefully, quietly, but effectively. To strengthen themselves the students joined with merchants, bankers, and laborers, so that if the moment arose when everything else should fail and it became absolutely necessary to force the hand of the Peking militarists, there would be unanimity of aim and action in China . . .

The coöperation of all elements has been secured because everybody in China feels that it is not a question of political party, of social status, of economic condition. Today China must decide whether she becomes a tributary of Japan or an independent nation. And on that question there is no division of opinion. Four hundred million heads are ready to fall before China will become servile to the Huns of the East. . . .

Documents

The Allied Occupation of the Rhinelands

FOLLOWING is the text of the Allied-German agreement with regard to the military occupation of the French Rhinelands:

Agreement

between the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, and France, of the one part, and Germany, of the other part, with regard to the military occupation of the territories of the Rhine.

The undersigned, acting under the powers conferred upon them by their respective Governments, have come to the following agreement as provided for in Article 432 of the Treaty of Peace of even date.

Article 1.

In accordance with Article 428 and the following Articles of the Treaty of even date, the armed forces of the Allied and Associated Powers will continue in occupation of German territory (as such occupation is defined by Article 5 of the Armistice Convention of 11th November, 1918, as extended by Article 7 of the Additional Convention of 16th January 1919), as a guarantee of the execution by Germany of the Treaty.

No German troops, except prisoners of war in process of repatriation, shall be admitted to the occupied territories, even in transit; but police forces of a strength to be determined by the Allied and Associated Powers may be maintained in these territories for the purpose of ensuring order.

Article 2.

There shall be constituted a civilian body styled the *Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission*, and hereinafter called the *High Commission*, which, except in so far as the Treaty may otherwise provide, shall be the supreme representative of the Allied and Associated Powers within the occupied territory. It shall consist of four members representing Belgium, France, Great Britain and the United States.

Article 3.

a) The High Commission shall have the power to issue ordinances so far as may be necessary for securing the maintenance, safety and requirements of the Allied and Associated forces. Such ordinances shall be published under the authority of the High Commission, and copies thereof shall be sent to each of the Allied and Associated Governments and also to the German Government.

When so published they shall have the force of law and shall be recognized as such by all the Allied military authorities and by the German civil authorities.

b) The members of the High Commission shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

c) The German courts shall continue to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction subject to the exceptions contained in paragraphs (d) and (e) below.

d) The armed forces of the Allied and Associated Powers and the persons accompanying them, to whom the General Officers Commanding the Armies of Occupation shall have issued a revokable pass, and any persons employed by, or in the service of such troops, shall be exclusively subject to the military law and jurisdiction of such forces.

e) Any person who commits any offence against the persons or property of the armed forces of the Allied and Associated Powers may be made amenable to the military jurisdiction of the said forces.

Article 4.

The German authorities, both in the occupied and in the unoccupied territories, shall, on the demand of any duly authorized military officer of the occupying forces, arrest and hand over to the nearest commander of the Allied or Associated troops any person charged with an offence who is amenable under paragraph (d) or paragraph (e) of Article 3 above to the military jurisdiction of the Allied or Associated Forces.

Article 5.

The civil administration of the provinces (*Provinzen*), Government departments (*Regierungsbezirke*), Urban Circles (*Stadtkreise*), Rural Circles (*Landkreise*), and Communes (*Gemeinde*), shall remain in the hands of the German authorities, and the civil administration of these areas shall continue under German Law and under the authority of the Central German Government, except in so far as it may be necessary for the High Commission by Ordinance under Article 3 to adapt that administration to the needs and circumstances of military occupation. It is understood that the German authorities shall be obliged, under penalty of removal, to conform to the ordinances issued in virtue of Article 3 above.

Article 6.

The right to requisition in kind and to demand services in the manner laid down in the Hague Convention, 1907, shall be exercised by the Allied and Associated Armies of Occupation.

The charges for the requisitions effected in the zone of each Allied and Associated army and the estimate of damage caused by the troops of occupation, shall be determined by local Commissions composed in equal representation of German civilians appointed by the German civil authorities and Allied military officers, and presided over by some person appointed by the High Commission.

The German Government shall continue to be responsible for the cost of maintenance of the troops of occupation under the conditions fixed by the Treaty. The German Government shall also be responsible for the costs and expenses of the High Commission, and for its housing. Suitable premises for the housing of the High Commission shall be selected in consultation with the German Government.

Article 7.

The Allied and Associated troops shall continue undisturbed in possession of any premises at present occupied by them, subject to the provision of Art. 8 (b) below.

Article 8.

(a) The German Government shall undertake, moreover, to place at the disposal of the Allied and Associated troops and to maintain in good state of repair all the military establishments required for the said troops, with the necessary furniture, heating and lighting, in accordance with the regulations concerning these matters in force in the various armies concerned. These shall include accommodations for officers and men, guard-rooms, offices, administrative, regimental and staff headquarters, workshops, store-rooms, hospitals, laundries, regimental schools, riding schools, stables, training grounds and rifle and artillery ranges, aviation grounds, grazing grounds, warehouses for sup-

plies and grounds for military manœuvres, also theatre and cinema premises, and reasonable facilities for sport and for recreation grounds for the troops.

(b) Private soldiers and non-commissioned officers shall be accommodated in barracks, and shall not be billeted on the inhabitants, except in cases of exceptional emergency.

In the event of the existing military establishments being insufficient or not being considered suitable, the Allied and Associated troops may take possession of any other public or private establishment with its personnel, suitable for those purposes, or, if there are no such suitable premises, they may require the construction of new barracks.

Civilian and military officers and their families may be billeted on the inhabitants in accordance with the billeting regulations in force in each army.

Article 9.

No German direct taxes or duties will be payable by the High Commission, the Allied and Associated armies or their personnel.

Food supplies, arms, clothing, equipment and provisions of all kinds for the use of the Allied and Associated Armies, or addressed to the military authorities, or to the High Commission, or to canteens and officers' messes, shall be transported free of charge and free of all import duties of any kind.

Article 10.

The personnel employed on all means of communication (railways, railroads and tramways of all kinds, waterways (including the Rhine), roads and rivers), shall obey any orders given by, or on behalf of, the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied and Associated armies for military purposes.

All the material and all the civil personnel necessary for the maintenance and working of all means of communication must be kept intact on all such means of communication in the occupied territory.

The transport on the railways of troops or individual soldiers or officers, on duty or furnished with a warrant, will be effected without payment.

Article 11.

The Armies of Occupation may continue to use for military purposes all existing telegraphic and telephonic installations.

The Armies of Occupation shall also have the right to continue to install and use military telegraph and telephone lines, wireless stations and all other similar means of communication which may appear to them expedient; for this purpose, subject to the approval of the High Commission, they may enter upon and occupy any land, whether public or private.

The personnel of the public telegraph and telephone services shall continue to obey the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied and Associated Armies given for military purposes.

Telegrams and messages to or from the Allied and Associated authorities and the High Commission and of an official nature shall be entitled to priority over all other communications and shall be despatched free of charge. The Allied and Associated military authorities shall have the right to supervise the order in which such communications are transmitted.

No wireless telegraphy installations shall be allowed to be erected by the authorities or by the inhabitants of the occupied territory without previous authorization by the Allied and Associated military authorities.

Article 12.

The personnel of the postal service shall obey any orders given by or on behalf of the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied and Associated Armies for military purposes. The public postal service shall continue to be carried out by the German authorities, but this shall not in any way affect the retention of the military postal services organized by the Armies of Occupation, who shall have the right to use all existing postal routes or military requirements.

The said armies shall have the right to run postal wagons with all necessary personnel on all existing postal routes.

The German Government shall transmit free of charge and

without examination letters and parcels which may be entrusted to its post-offices by or for the Armies of Occupation or by or for the High Commission; and shall be responsible for the value of any letters or parcels lost.

Article 13.

The High Commission shall have the power, whenever they think it necessary, to declare a state of siege in any part of the territory or in the whole of it. Upon such declaration the military authorities shall have the powers provided in the German Imperial Law of May 30, 1892. In case of emergency, where public order is disturbed or threatened in any district, the local military authorities shall have the power to take such temporary measures as may be necessary for restoring order. In such case the military authorities shall report the facts to the High Commission.

The Russian Social Revolutionists

THE following statements, defining the attitude of the Russian Social Revolutionary Party toward the Bolshevik and counter-revolutionary movements in Russia, are translated from a collection of documents recently published in Paris by representatives of the Social Revolutionists.

The Moscow Conference of the Organizations of the Party of Social Revolutionists on the Territory of Soviet Russia.

(1) The catastrophic condition of the economic life of Russia places the toiling masses of city and village, and, above all, the city proletariat, in an unbearably difficult situation, threatening them with physical and cultural extermination. As long as Russia remains torn asunder and continues in a state of ceaseless outer and inner conflict, the economic disorganization cannot be conquered. Therefore, the fundamental problem before the toiling classes at present is the re-creation of the political and economic unity of Russia, and the establishment of peace.

(2) Regarding as essential the earliest possible cessation of the civil war and the establishment of a federal link between the parts of Russia now divided and in conflict with one another, the Conference nevertheless maintains that only the application of the principles of popular rule on the basis of universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage, both in local as well as in federal legislative assemblies, can secure internal peace, the unity of Russia, and the liquidation of the economic catastrophe, on foundations in consonance with the interests of the peasantry and proletariat.

(3) Only the resurrection of Russia by the efforts of the Russian people themselves, and her liberation from foreign domination, can assure the normal development of the country and secure it from complete enslavement by foreign capital. Therefore, the efforts of the Imperialists of the Allied countries, under the guise of aid to Russia or conflict with anarchy, to seize by means of their military forces parts of the territories of Russia, or to interfere in her internal affairs, are most ruinous to the interests of the toiling classes of Russia and must meet with most resolute resistance on their part. The cessation of the intervention of the Entente Powers, and the immediate evacuation of all territories occupied by their troops, constitute the united demand of the entire Russian democracy.

(4) The constantly solidifying bourgeois-landlord reaction, feeding upon the methods of the Bolshevik rule, and supporting itself upon the aid of Allied Imperialism, is striving to reestablish the pre-revolutionary order in Russia and to hurl the country into the power of a monarchist restoration. Uncompromising war against this on the part of the toiling classes is dictated by their vital interest.

(5) In those regions where, with the aid of German Imperialism or with the support of our erstwhile allies, there has been formed a reactionary régime, the Conference invites all party organizations to utilize all their forces for the overthrow of the

reactionary governments and for the reunion of these regions with Russia.

(6) The solution of the problems now before the toiling classes of Russia—the creation of a united Russia and the struggle against the Imperialist ambition of the powers of the Entente and the inner reaction—can be accomplished only by a united, solidified democracy—a democracy not weakened and disorganized by internal dissension—supporting itself upon the immediate reconconvocation of the Socialist Internationale.

(7) The greatest obstacle in the way of the reunion of the toiling democracy is the anti-democratic policy of the Bolshevik régime, deeply inimical to the interests of the toiling classes. By destroying all the democratic conquests of the revolution, by introducing a régime of terror and violence, and by suppressing the independence of action of the toiling masses, the Soviet régime is fanning the confusion and disorganization among them; by its barbarous conflict with the peasantry, its economic robbery of the villages, and its measures in the domain of national economy, the Soviet régime has brought about an artificial division between the peasantry and proletariat, and is thus objectively aiding the cause of the counter-revolution. Until the entire policy of the Bolshevik régime undergoes a radical change, until it ceases its war and oppressive measures against the peasantry, until all civil liberties are reestablished, the union of all strata of the toiling classes with the Bolshevik régime is impossible. Without the realization of these basic conditions, any efforts at compromise with the Bolshevik régime on the part of the democratic groups, while failing to bring about a united, democratic front of the working masses, simply serve to increase their confusion and create in the mind of the socialist democracy of the West a false conception of the situation in Russia.

(8) At the same time the Conference most emphatically rejects any attempts at the overthrow of the Soviet régime by force of arms, attempts which, in the present state of confusion and weakness of the toiling democracy and the constantly increasing power of the counter-revolution, can redound only to the advantage of the counter-revolution, and will be utilized by the reactionary groups for the purposes of a restoration.

(9) In the struggle for the unity of Russia and the establishment of an All-Russian Government, the Conference rejects most emphatically any blocs and coalitions with the bourgeois parties, who have quite fully revealed their reactionary nature, and are dreaming of a personal dictatorship and the reestablishment of a laissez faire economic rule.

(10) Maintaining unalterably that only the consistent realization of popular rule can lead to real power on the part of the toiling masses and secure their interests in the struggle for socialism, the party will continue to voice ceaselessly the fundamental demand of the democracy—the convocation of the Constituent Assembly and the establishment of local organs of self-government, on the basis of universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage.

(11) The conquest of the apathy and confusion of the toiling masses in city and village, and their union into strong class organizations, is regarded by the Conference as the fundamental task of the party at the present moment. Only the solidarity and organization of the toiling people will give them the power necessary for the defense of their interests against the anti-democratic policy of the Bolshevik régime, and to resist at the same time the efforts of the reaction at restoration.

(12) For the purpose of utilizing all possible means in the struggle for popular rule and the organization of the working masses, the Conference recommends to the members of the party to take active part in election campaigns for the soviets of workers and peasants' deputies and thus to emphasize the principle of open forms of political struggle, the demand for the restoration of civil liberties, and the creation of conditions which would assure the working class real representation in the soviets. At the same time the conference considers impossible the putting forth of candidates by the party in elections to the soviets until all working class parties are accorded legal standing and freedom of propaganda.

The New Constitution of Hungary

THE Russian Wireless News Service transmitted from Budapest on June 24 the following summary of the new Hungarian Constitution.

The Congress of Workers' and Peasants' Councils of Hungary has prepared a draft of a Constitution containing 79 paragraphs and divided into seven sections. The first section announces the fundamental principles of the Constitution and states that Hungary is to be a Soviet Republic, where the proletariat has taken in its hands all rights, powers, and freedom, in order to abolish the capitalistic system and the rule of the bourgeoisie, and to supplant it with socialist production and social order. The dictatorship of the proletariat, however, is only a means toward the abolition of all exploitation and all class rule; and thus toward the establishment of a social order which has no classes at all.

The second section defines the rights and duties of the workers. The aim of the Soviet Republic is that all means of production should be taken over by the workers' society. On the strength of this principle the Soviet Republic is confiscating all lands except such small holdings as are cultivated by a peasant family for its own living. All industrial, mining, and communication enterprises are also nationalized. The Soviet Republic proclaims universal obligation to work and universal right to secure work. Unemployed workers, and such workers as are willing to work but are unable to do so, get their maintenance from the state. The workers are free to express their opinions in speech and print, and they enjoy full freedom of assemblage and of association. The church and the state, the schools and the church, must be entirely separate. Everybody is free to adhere to any confession. Propaganda in favor of or against any religious confession is freely permitted. Foreign proletarians enjoy the same rights as the Hungarian proletariat. Asylum is guaranteed to foreign revolutionists. The Soviet Republic recognizes no national or racial distinctions, and will not suffer any oppression of smaller nationalities. Anyone may use his mother tongue, and all authorities are obliged to accept documents written in any language used in the country, and to listen to pleas in any language.

The third section defines the central organizations of the Soviet power. The supreme power is in the hands of the National Assembly of the Soviets. This body has power to adopt and to amend the Constitution; to define and change the borders of the Republic; to declare war and peace; and to draw up the budget. The Central Executive Committee represents the National Assembly between the sessions of the Assembly. The National Assembly is convened not less than twice a year. The Central Executive Committee is elected by the National Assembly, and is composed of not more than 150 members. The various nationalities of the country are represented in the body in proportion to their members. The Central Executive Committee executes the higher legislative, administrative, and judicial powers. It elects Administrative Councils and Peoples' Commissars, and has power to change decisions made by the Commissars. The Constitution provides for the establishment of nine Commissariats, and in addition to them a National Economic Council which is in charge of matters concerning agriculture, industries, finances, food, communication, and labor matters. The various Commissariats are for Foreign Affairs, International Affairs, War, Justice, People's Welfare, Education.

The fourth section defines the form of local Soviet organization.

The fifth section stipulates that only those who work shall have the right to vote. Anyone performing any socially useful work, including the soldiers of the Red Army, automatically gets active as well as passive suffrage at the age of 18 years. Citizens of foreign countries have the same rights, provided that they are usefully engaged. Merchants and priests are excluded. The balloting is secret.

The sixth section provides that state revenue and expenses must not exceed the terms of the budget accepted by the Executive Committee.

The seventh section defines the rights of various nationalities in the Federal Socialist Republic of Hungary. Every nation within the Federal Republic, even if its members do not live within a certain defined district, shall have the right to organize national councils for the development of its national culture. Such organizations, however, shall not break up a territorial organization. The local administration in each district is in every instance in the hands of the workers belonging to that nationality which has the majority in that district.

Béla Kun on Allied Sincerity

THE following telegram from Béla Kun, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian Soviet Government, to M. Clemenceau, appeared in *le Populaire* (Paris) for July 15.

Mr. President: In your telegram of June 13, you declared that as soon as our troops in the war which has been forced upon us had evacuated the territory awarded to the Czecho-Slovak Republic and withdrawn behind the frontiers awarded to the Hungarian Soviet Republic, the troops of the King of Rumania would immediately begin to evacuate the line in question and would be withdrawn behind the frontiers described in detail in your telegram. I have emphasized in the response which we made at that time, and in our subsequent telegram, that the Hungarian Soviet Republic wished to prove that it was against all unnecessary bloodshed, and was at the same time complying with your demands. Subsequent events show that I have kept my promise, all the more because I agreed with you that frontiers imposed by force of arms should not remain as national frontiers. At the same time I asked you, Mr. President, to be good enough to obtain all possible guarantees for the execution of the orders of the Allied and Associated Governments by the troops of the King of Rumania. I did not receive the explicit guarantees asked for in my last telegram. I declared that I accepted as an implicit guarantee the statement that we were assured the evacuation of the devastated regions beyond the River Theiss by the Rumanian army.

Mr. President, your agents must have told you that our troops have ceased fighting against the Czecho-Slovak Republic, and that on June 24 they held the frontiers of the neutral zone agreed on with General Pellet. We ought rightly then to expect that the Rumanian troops would also, in conformity with your telegram of June 13, follow the orders of the Allied Governments to withdraw to the fronts fixed for them, to prove that they also are ready for peace and that they comply with the appeal of the President, according to which frontiers obtained by force of arms should not form national frontiers.

However, in spite of their promise and in spite of your order, the troops of the King of Rumania did not begin to retreat. On the contrary, after June 24, they attacked on many fronts, among others at Tisculuc. Naturally, the Rumanians were repulsed by the troops of our Red Army, which inflicted many bloody casualties on them with keen regret at this unnecessary bloodshed. It is precisely the influence of your words which has forced us to make sure that the Rumanians should not commence any more battles, large or small, contrary to the orders of the Allied and Associated Governments.

As for the acts of violence of the Rumanian troops, which have meant the massacre of so many workmen, I prefer not to be obliged to speak of them. It may be said that the districts of France devastated by Hindenburg's troops are veritable oases in comparison with the desert made of our territories by the Rumanian troops. Permit me, Mr. President, to ask you to be good enough to tell us if your word and that of the Allied and Associated Governments has sufficient weight to compel the troops of the King of Rumania to withdraw to the line fixed by

the Allied and Associated Governments. We believe that you have the power to prevent unnecessary bloodshed, even when the order is not addressed to a peaceable government which abstains from all imperialist politics, like that of the Soviet Republic of Hungary, which, as you see, put an end to carnage after a victorious war against the Czecho-Slovak Republic. We ask you, Mr. President, to be good enough to enforce your will with regard to the troops of the King of Rumania in the same manner in which the Hungarian Soviet Government has enforced its own by ending the victorious war, imposed upon it against its will by the Czecho-Slovaks. Be good enough, we beg you, to renew your order. It is only on this basis that it will be possible to justify to the people of the Hungarian Soviet Republic the procedure which accepted your declaration as a guarantee.

In the hope that the Allied and Associated Governments will have the power of enforcing their authority and their orders with respect to the troops of the King of Rumania, I offer you, Mr. President, the assurance of my very high consideration.

(Signed) BÉLA KUN,

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

Foreign Press

The Nansen Offer

WE reprint below the Russian Soviet Government's version of the Nansen offer, as it appeared in *The Daily Herald* (London) for July 8.

STOCKHOLM, July 4.—The Russian Soviet Government's news agency, "Rosta," has issued the following communication relative to Dr. Fritjof Nansen's proposal on the provisioning of Russia:

In the British House of Commons, Mr. Harmsworth stated that the Soviet Government's reply to Dr. Nansen's proposal was intercepted by wireless on May 10. From Dr. Nansen's reply to Chicherin's wireless message it is clear that Dr. Nansen immediately informed Paris of Chicherin's reply. It was therefore unnecessary to intercept the message.

A report from the Russian People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs asserts that the statements of the newspapers that Soviet Russia did not want provisions, but wished to fight, were not true.

The report states that on April 3, Dr. Nansen proposed to the Council of Four a plan for provisioning Russia and supplying her with medicines.

On April 17, Signor Orlando, Mr. Lloyd George, President Wilson, and Mr. Clemenceau replied that their respective governments would be pleased to coöperate in carrying out this plan on the lines proposed by Dr. Nansen—namely, the Allied governments alone to procure provisions and the Russian authorities to manage the financial and transport questions. This plan would involve the suspension of war operations in certain districts and the cessation of troop transports and transports of war materials in Russia, and also from abroad to Russia.

The Russian Soviet Government received the Allied reply with additions made by Dr. Nansen only on May 4. Later it was proved by American wireless messages that all the governments had refused to dispatch this message, but finally it was received from Berlin through the German government at the request of the Norwegian Legation in Berlin.

On May 7, the Russian Soviet Government sent a telegraphic reply to Dr. Nansen, in which it was stated that the Soviet Government was quite willing to enter into communication with him in order to carry out his humane plan, but that others had mixed up his non-political scheme with questions concerning the suspension of war operations, thereby using Dr. Nansen's humane intentions for other purposes.

The Soviet Government, moreover, was now willing to enter into negotiations for the purpose of arriving at the suspension

of bloodshed. The suspension of war operations, however, was a question of extraordinary political importance.

The Soviet Government was willing to begin negotiations on this question, but only with the real belligerent parties, namely, the Allied governments, or with those duly authorized by them.

The Soviet Government, being willing to negotiate with the Allies, warmly welcomed the humane proposition originally made by Dr. Nansen, and asked him to fix the time and place for meeting in order to discuss the questions involved.

When the Soviet Government made a distinction between the provisioning question and general political questions, the Allied Powers interpreted it as a refusal of Dr. Nansen's proposal. The Russian Soviet Government in no way refused to suspend bloodshed.

New Revelations from the Russian Archives

THE Russian Soviet Government has thrown new light on the diplomacy of the Entente Allies during the period before the war by publishing in *Pravda* (Petrograd) a series of documents from the secret archives of the Czarist Government. The following résumé of the revelations appeared in *The Daily Herald* (London) for June 28.

At last the pre-war archives of the Russian Foreign Office have begun to appear, and, to judge from the extracts given below, they promise to furnish as astounding revelations as the Secret Treaties themselves.

The documents have appeared in *Pravda* under the editorship of Pokrovsky, Soviet Commissary of Finance, and translations have been made in certain of the foreign press. The following extracts are taken from the translation published in the *Svenska Dagblad* (Stockholm) of June 2.

Pokrovsky begins by describing the manner in which Italy was won over to the grand combination which Russia was building up in order to win Constantinople and the Straits. The Russian-Italian Convention of Racconigi was concluded on October 24, 1909, and the last clause of this runs: "Italy and Russia bind themselves to a mutually benevolent attitude, the former with regard to Russia's interests in the question of the Straits, the latter with regard to Italy's interests in Tripoli and Cyrenaica."

Two years later the Tripoli war broke out. As soon as it began, Isvolsky, the Russian Ambassador in Paris, wrote with regard to it: "I beg to remark that in any event we must make sure in one form or another of a declaration from Italy that, now that she is carrying into execution the claims on her side to Tripoli touched on in the agreement, she will equally in the future keep her word to us with regard to the question of the Straits."

But Isvolsky's activities were not confined to making sure of Italy. He was also concerned to make sure of France, and here occurs a touching passage that should enlist the sympathy of every diplomat. On October 12, 1911, he writes:

"If we are really concerned to take up the question of the Straits, then it is of the highest importance to see to it that we have a good Press here. Unfortunately, I am, in this respect, deprived of a most important instrument, since all my assiduous entreaties to be provided with funds for the Press have produced no result. I shall, of course, do all that is in my power, but this is one of those questions where public opinion is, for traditional reasons, most easily against us. As an example of how useful it is to have money to offer the Press, the Tripoli affair may be quoted. I know how Tittoni (the Italian Ambassador in Paris) has worked up the leading French papers most thoroughly and with the most open hand. The result is now manifest to all."

At this time Caillaux, as Premier, was virtually in power in France, and Isvolsky found the outlook depressing from the

point of view of his designs. But the position changed when Poincaré became President. On September 12, 1912, Isvolsky reports a conversation with Poincaré, in which the latter assured him of France's loyalty to the Czar in these terms: "If a conflict with Austria should involve Germany's armed intervention, France will at once recognize it as a *casus foederis*, and will not lose a minute in fulfilling her pledges to Russia."

In September, 1912, during the first Balkan war, the Russian Foreign Minister, Sazonov, paid his famous visit to England to get the lie of the land. Sazonov's report to the Czar is as follows:

"After I had confidentially informed Grey of the contents of our naval agreement with France, and referred to the fact that under this agreement the French fleet would take upon itself the protection of our interests in the southern theatre of war by preventing the Austrian fleet from forcing a way into the Black Sea, I asked him if England on her side would do us the same service in the north by keeping the German fleet off our coasts on the Baltic. Without hesitation, Grey replied that if the situation in question occurred, England would do everything to inflict the heaviest blow on German power."

In the same interview, Grey assured Sazonov of the existence of an Anglo-French agreement by which England bound herself, in the case of a war with Germany, to support France, not only by sea, but even by landing troops on the Continent.

By the spring of 1914 things were getting warm. In a secret message from Livadia on April 11, 1914, the Czar wrote: "To open the Straits I am prepared to use force." That same month Sir Edward Grey and King George were in Paris, and Isvolsky reports conversations with a view to a general Anglo-French-Russian convention.

Grey said, according to his report, that there were elements in the British Government which were "suspicious of relations with Russia," and mentioned Asquith as belonging to these.

Isvolsky goes on: "According to Sir Edward Grey's account, there could only be a question of a naval convention between us and England and not a continental convention, because the disposition of England's land forces was already arranged, and they could not operate alongside the Russian land forces."

In July came the Serajevo murders, and the even more terrible consequences that plunged the whole world into war. The bones of our brothers in two continents tell the rest of the tragic story.

Notes

A COPENHAGEN dispatch to *The New York Times* for July 28 states: "The text of the report of Count Czernin, former Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, to Emperor Charles, dated April 12, 1917, which was the subject of an attack by Dr. Mathias Erzberger in the German National Assembly, is published in Weimar." The full text of this letter appeared in the International Relations Section of *The Nation* for February 22, 1919.

THE first number of the quarterly *Bulletin de l'Institut Inter-médiaire International* has made its appearance. The Institute was founded at the Hague in January, 1918, by Dutch scholars and representatives of commercial interests, and has as its president Dr. A. P. C. van Karnebeek, the Dutch Minister for Foreign Affairs. Its objects are to furnish information, in most cases gratis, as to the institutions and conditions of foreign countries, and to make available the facts of all important international enterprises. The first number of the *Bulletin* contains, under the caption *La Genèse de la Paix*, the first installment of a collection of official and semi-official political and diplomatic documents which will detail the transition of Europe from a state of war to a state of peace. In other articles Dr. J. Offerhaus summarizes the private International Law cases for the year 1918, J. B. J. Peeters begins a series of studies in the

Double Tax, J. Fischer gives a collection of Zionist documents, and the editor lists the treaties and conventions of the quarter, the official *apologies* of the warring countries, and the principal questions which have so far been addressed to the Institute.

THE British Union of Democratic Control has recently issued the first number of its new official publication, *Foreign Affairs*. The purpose of the new periodical, as intimated in the leading article, is to thwart the influences favoring acceptance of the work of the Versailles Conference, and to arouse dissatisfaction with "the nationalistic passions, the dark forces of financial intrigue, the conspiracies of armament rings, the unbridled personal ambitions, which combine to make preparation for war a normal function of humanity, and its advent the cold calculation of a handful of men working in secret places." The Peace Treaty is denounced as directly provocative of new wars, and the League of Nations as a nefarious compact among a few dominant governments. Mr. Bernard Shaw contributes an article on *Democracy and Foreign Policy*, and Mr. Georg Brandes another, bearing the vigorous and suggestive title *Sham Peace*. A labor page edited by J. W. Kneeshaw, and a page on international affairs, by Arthur Ponsonby, are admirably informative features.

IN order to help unemployed women to obtain positions, the British Ministry of Labor has arranged a free course of training for approved persons, in trades where there is a demand for labor. Such trades are domestic labor, and certain kinds of factory work known as women's processes. The length of the courses will vary according to the trade, but a course will usually last from two to six months. The women who enter upon any of these courses will receive the usual unemployment donation of 25s. per week, with an additional 10s. for women who are living away from home. In cases where the period of unemployment donation ends before the period of training is over, a maintenance allowance of 15s. per week will be paid until the class is finished, provided that it does not continue longer than three months.

OWING to a rise of about 200 per cent. in the cost of living, and to the effects of foreign occupation of the country, labor conditions in Belgium are extremely unsettled. With the exception of the mining industry, in which there was only a comparatively slight decrease in production, the effects of the war on industry have been very marked. Of 20,700 workers employed in fourteen industries before the war, only 2,300 were employed in March, 1919. At the same time workmen in these industries are demanding an increase of from seventy-five to 100 per cent. in wages, while employers are prepared to offer about fifty per cent. There is also a great demand on the part of labor unions for a minimum wage of ten francs a day, recognition of the unions, and an eight-hour day. This last the employers are extremely reluctant to grant, owing to the grave disorganization of industry due to the war. While recognizing the general desirability of the shorter day, they maintain that this is not the time to grant it, when additional labor is so urgently required to restore Belgian industry to its normal condition.

THE Korean National Association of North America has published a constitution promulgated by the Council of State of the provisional government of Korea. The constitution guarantees the establishment of religious liberty; freedom of speech and press; the right to hold public meetings and form social organizations; the abolition of the death penalty, corporal punishment, and public prostitution; universal suffrage; compulsory education and military service; and amnesty for all political offenders. It also provides for the convening of the national Congress "within one year of the recovery of our land," and declares it is the wish of the Korean Republic to become a member of the League of Nations.

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